

The Executive Council Meeting—A Full Report

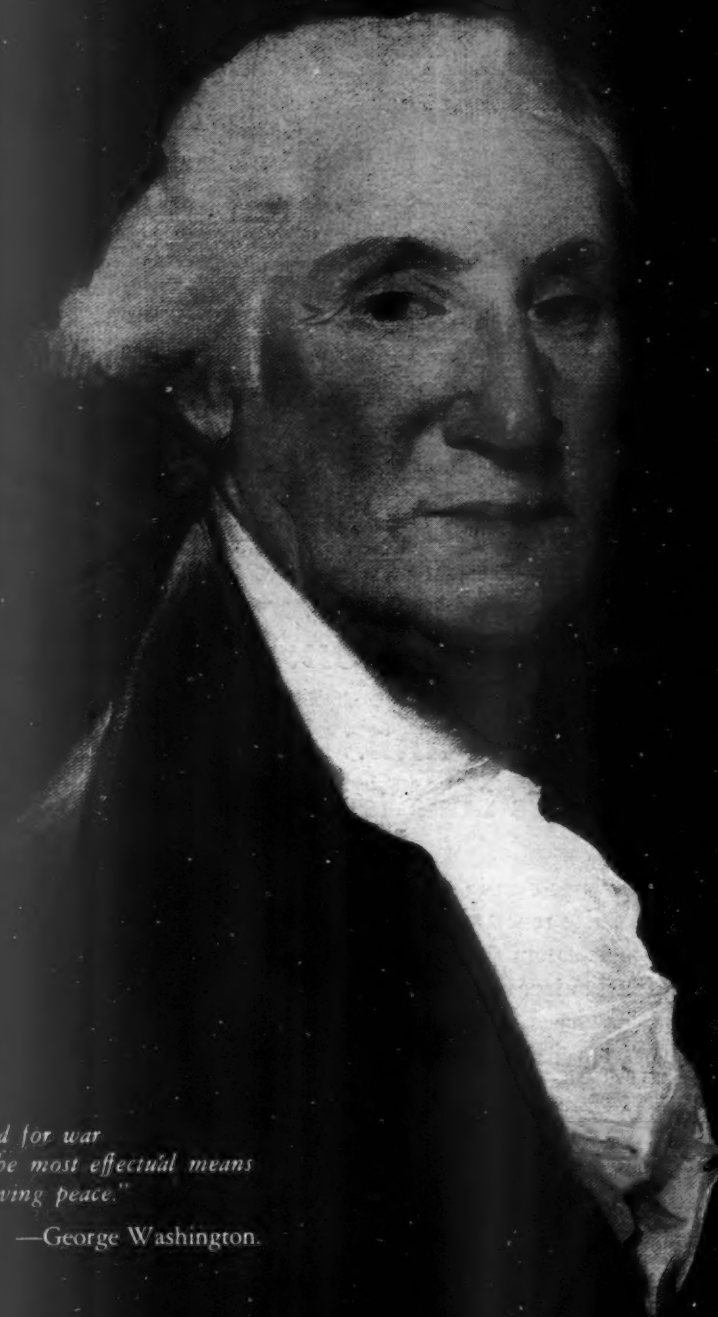
FEBRUARY 1953  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

MAR 5 1953

PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM

*The American*

# FEDERATIONIST



*"To be prepared for war  
is one of the most effectual means  
of preserving peace."*

—George Washington.



*Are you listening?*

**FRANK EDWARDS brings you  
the day's important NEWS**

Frank Edwards is your man if you want to know what's happening at home and abroad. He reports all the important news—especially those items which commentators tied in with Big Business and most newspapers are inclined to ignore or play down. Hard-hitting, plain-talking Frank Edwards is sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. He is heard from coast to coast. Be informed! Get the Frank Edwards habit!

# The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

FEBRUARY, 1953

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 60, No. 2

## In This Issue

THE COUNCIL ACTS .....	3
TEXT OF COUNCIL'S ORDER TO LONGSHOREMEN.....	7
THE INDEX AND YOU .....	Bert Seidman 8
A VERY SOLID ORGANIZATION.....	Ray Muchlhofer 11
THE A. F. OF L. IN NEW JERSEY.....	Louis P. Marciano 12
FORCE OUVRIERE FORGES AHEAD.....	Andre Lafond 14
WE ARE ALL BROTHERS.....	George Meany 15
EDITORIALS .....	George Meany 16
THE SAN ANTONIO LABOR STORY.....	F. E. Swales 18
DURKIN HAS LABOR DEPT. RUNNING SMOOTHLY.....	19
THE FISH CANNERY WORKERS.....	James Waugh 20
THE HOSIERY WORKERS AND EDUCATION... ..	Andrew J. Bennett 21
LET'S USE OUR PURCHASING POWER.....	Jack Goldberger 22
HOW WORKERS ARE TREATED IN AFRICA.....	22
FROM OTHER LABOR PUBLICATIONS.....	23
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....	24
FORTY YEARS AGO.....	30
WHAT THEY SAY.....	32
JUNIOR UNION STORY.....	Annabel Lee Glenn Cover

## Our Way

The hope of freedom itself depends, in real measure, upon our strength, our heart and our wisdom. We must be strong in arms. We must be strong in the source of all our armament, our productivity. We all—workers and farmers, foremen and financiers, technicians and builders—all must produce, produce more and produce yet more.

We must be strong, above all, in the spiritual resources upon which all else depends. We must be devoted with all our heart to the values we defend. We must know that each of these values and virtues applies with equal force at the ends of the earth and in our relations with our neighbor next door. We must know that freedom expresses itself with equal eloquence in the right of workers to strike in the nearby factory—and in the yearnings and sufferings of the peoples of Eastern Europe. As our heart summons our strength, our wisdom must direct it.

There is, in world affairs, a steady course to be followed between an assertion of strength that is truculent and a confession of helplessness that is cowardly.

There is, in our affairs at home, a middle way between untrammelled freedom of the individual and the demands for the welfare of the whole nation. This way must avoid government by bureaucracy as carefully as it avoids neglect of the helpless.

In every area of political action, free men must think before they can expect to win.

In this spirit must we live and labor, confident of our strength, compassionate in our heart, clear in our mind.

In this spirit let us together turn to the great tasks before us.

President Eisenhower.

## THIS MONTH'S COVER

The portrait of George Washington is by Gilbert Stuart. From the Mellon Collection. Used by courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor at the A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D. C. Printed in Washington. Editor—GEORGE MEANY. Managing Editor—BERNARD TASSLER. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No paid advertising accepted. Material appearing in this magazine may not be reprinted without prior written permission.



FAIRVIEW PUBLIC SCHOOL

C  
An  
jus  
wa  
Ex  
of  
A.  
cil  
the  
ure  
V  
unc  
of t  
too  
ters  
helo  
Mia  
T  
pro  
Har  
tail  
tion  
Mea  
ler  
mitt  
A. I  
will  
the  
pear  
fore  
Sen  
TY  
wor  
Sch  
into  
of th  
Unio  
son  
Cler  
the  
Elect  
ard  
Allia  
and  
A. F  
tion  
M  
was  
tic"

FEB



# THE COUNCIL ACTS

*Calls for Higher Wages to Prevent a Depression,  
Orders Longshoremen to Clean Up or Get Out*

ONE of the busiest and most productive meetings ever held by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has just closed. The midwinter session was the first regular meeting of the Executive Council since the election of George Meany as president of the A. F. of L. It was also the first Council meeting for William F. Schnitzler, the Federation's new secretary-treasurer.

Working smoothly and efficiently under President Meany, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor took action on a long list of vital matters. The history-making meeting was held at the Monte Carlo Hotel in Miami Beach.

The Executive Council drew up proposals for the revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. The preparation of detailed recommendations for presentation to Congress was left to President Meany, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and a five-man advisory committee. It was indicated that the A. F. of L.'s proposed amendments will not become known in detail until the Federation's representatives appear at the Capitol for testimony before the Labor Committees of the Senate and the House.

The advisory committee that will work with Mr. Meany and Mr. Schnitzler in whipping the program into shape consists of Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers Union, President George M. Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, President Dan W. Tracy of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, President Richard F. Walsh of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Richard J. Gray, president of the A. F. of L.'s Building and Construction Trades Department.

Mr. Meany told reporters that he was "not optimistic and not pessimistic" about the outcome of labor's



*With Secretary Schnitzler looking on, President Meany opens his first regular Council meeting since becoming A. F. of L. head*

efforts to so revise the Taft-Hartley Act this year as to make it a fair law.

The Executive Council ordered the International Longshoremen's Association, of which Joseph P. Ryan is president, to clean house by April 30 or face expulsion from the American Federation of Labor.

The ultimatum to the Longshoremen's Association was authorized by unanimous vote of the Executive Council on the second day of its midwinter meeting. It was prompted by disclosures that gangsters are using the union as a vehicle for extortion and exploitation of the members.

The order was accompanied by a demand that all American Federation of Labor unions keep former convicts out of positions of influence on pain of having their charters revoked.

President Meany emphasized that the Federation will not allow any affiliated union to use its right to manage its own affairs as a "shield

for disreputable practices that victimize" the union's members.

The Executive Council set up specific yardsicks for corrective action by the International Longshoremen's Association and made it clear that the A. F. of L. will not consider the clean-up job satisfactorily done until all had been accomplished.

The Council ordered:

Immediate removal of all international and local officers who have accepted gifts or bribes from employers or have appointed former convicts to union posts.

Ouster of all union representatives with criminal records.

Abolition of the vicious shape-up system of employment, under which a worker cannot get a job unless he enjoys the favor of the hiring boss.

Establishment of democratic practices inside the union "so that members who work on the waterfront will be able to select true and capable



**George M. Harrison (left), president of the Railway Clerks, and Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers' chief, played active roles**

trade union leaders who will serve the best interests of the A. F. of L. and be free from the taint of crime and racketeering."

President Meany handed a copy of the Council's ultimatum to Harry Hasselgren, secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's Association. The statement was in the form of an open letter to the "officers and members" of the union.

Mr. Meany told reporters that this was the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor that such an ultimatum has been given. He said the Executive Council would decide at its May meeting in Washington whether the union had complied with the order. If the Executive Council feels the union is still gangster-infested, the Council will prepare an ouster recommendation for action at the next A. F. of L. convention, which will be held in St. Louis next September. The constitution of the A. F. of L. reposes the power to expel an international in the convention.

The statement said the American Federation of Labor still believes that it should allow its affiliates the fullest measure of autonomy in governing their own internal affairs, but added that no union should regard autonomy as an excuse for behavior that brings all unions into disrepute.

The history-making statement was drafted by Vice-Presidents Charles J. MacGowan, Dan W. Tracy and George M. Harrison. They made it clear that they believe the statement places an obligation on all A. F. of L. affiliates to get rid of any gangsters

and racketeers who may have managed to worm their way into positions of leadership.

Mr. Meany emphasized that the principles laid down by the Executive Council are not directed solely at the International Longshoremen's Association. They are intended as a code of moral conduct for all affiliated unions to follow.

### **Wages Must Go Up**

The nation's workers must get wage increases to keep pace with rising productivity, the Executive Council declared. Warning that "if present trends are permitted to continue, a sharp and destructive curtailment in America's economic activity will be inevitable," the Council said that "this will mean a cut in production, a drop in business and a heavy rise in unemployment."

Pointing out that "it is imperative that wages be kept in line with our country's technological and productive growth in order to keep America strong," the Council said:

"The time for action to avert a depression is before its threat is already upon us. To enlarge the buying power of wages and through them the bulk of consumer demand is vital not only to workers but to the prosperity of businessmen, farmers and all other economic groups."

President Meany said:

"If the present divergence between wages and productivity continues for another year or two, it will mean that we will produce far more than we can consume. That puts us right back to where we were in 1929, when the

bubble burst. We went into a tail-spin because we could not consume the things we were able to produce. Now is the time to see that does not happen again."

From 1949 through 1952, said a report approved by the Executive Council, productivity has risen 132 per cent for the whole private economy in the U.S. while "real" factory wages have risen only 7 per cent. Calling this "an ominous disparity," the report noted that the rise in factory pay is greater than the average gain for all workers and the actual lag in wages is therefore greater than shown by the figures, used because manufacturing is the only group for which comprehensive up-to-date information is available.

"Even in 1952 there were evidences of hesitation in our economy," the Executive Council said, pointing out that lifting of controls on consumer credit resulted in the most rapid rise in installment buying ever known, with workers whose incomes were inadequate borrowing against the future to buy automobiles, appliances, furniture and clothing and to meet other needs.

"Had it not been for an increase of some 550,000 in the armed forces in 1952, unemployment would undoubtedly have risen," the report said.

"Particularly significant for labor,"



**Vice-President David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers' head**

the Council declared, "is the fact that we cannot sustain employment at maximum levels if our economy stands still. Our labor force is expanding constantly, due to increasing population. Man-hour productivity is increasing. The rapid expansion in our producing powers from these two sources means that purchasing power and demand for American products must increase correspondingly every year to keep our work force employed."

The Executive Council called upon Congress to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the increasing spread between farm and retail food prices.

In its call for an investigation the Executive Council expressed alarm at the fact that the prices received by farmers for their products had gone down 8.8 per cent in the last four months of last year. A similar trend of declining farm income preceded the economic collapse of 1929, the A. F. of L. leaders recalled.

The Council said its concern was heightened by the fact that the drop in farm prices has not been accompanied by any appreciable drop in food prices to consumers. The statement said food processors and distributors are increasing their profits at the expense of both farmers and urban workers.

"Between the third quarter of 1951 and the third quarter of 1952, when



**Electrical Workers' President Dan Tracy and James C. Petrillo, who heads the Musicians, enjoy a light moment at the meeting**

farm income was already lagging behind the rest of the economy, corporations processing and marketing food were rapidly increasing their profits," the Council declared. "During this period, the Federal Trade Commission reports that net corporate income, after taxes, of firms in the food group rose from \$204,000,000 to \$255,000,000, an increase of 25 per cent."

While the profits of processors were going up, the Council added, farm prices fell nearly 12 per cent. Retail food prices went down less than one per cent in the same period.

### Political Action

The important subject of labor's political action was given attention, during the period of the Executive Council meeting, at a session of the Administrative Committee of Labor's League for Political Education.

An intensive and invigorated political drive was launched to elect friends of labor to Congress in 1954.

Major decisions of the Administrative Committee were as follows:

(1) To conduct annual campaigns among American Federation of Labor members for political contributions, beginning this year, at the rate of \$1 per member.

(2) To create a Women's Division in Labor's League to stimulate greater support for labor's political objectives among wives and relatives of union members, as well as among women workers.

(3) To keep close watch on developments and voting records in the present Congress for the guidance of Labor's League in determining which members to support and which ones to oppose in the 1954 campaign.

George Meany was elected chairman of the League and William F. Schnitzler secretary-treasurer.

James L. McDevitt, director of the League, presented a detailed analysis of the 1952 election results which emphasized that labor districts in most cities of the nation heavily supported candidates endorsed by the League.

His analysis also showed that President Eisenhower's victory was largely a personal one, that the Congressional elections did not parallel the trend to Mr. Eisenhower and that, even though he was overwhelmingly elected, labor did not lose any ground in the Senate. The exact situation in the House will be determined by the record in this session.

Mr. McDevitt noted that the League's past policy was to conduct membership campaigns only in election years, with an educational program carried on in non-election years. A continued campaign for membership will be more effective, he said. It is not wise to permit the main machinery of League operations to stand idle and rust, Mr. McDevitt declared.

Much interest was shown in the need for political activity among the nation's women. The League's op-



**Vice-President W. C. Doherty, chief of the Letter Carriers**





**Daniel J. Tobin of the Teamsters is explaining a situation to W. C. Birthright, Barbers' leader, and Bakers' Herman Winter**



**During a recess A. F. of L. Vice-President W. L. Hutcheson (at right) chats with Lathers' President William McSorley**



**Harry C. Bates (left), Bricklayers' president and Council member, looks at a magazine with Harry E. O'Reilly**

erations were not sufficiently effective in the past in reaching women, the Administrative Committee agreed.

The new plans will operate through existing local and statewide auxiliaries and, where necessary, additional auxiliaries will be set up. The job in each case will be to help women to realize that labor's objectives are no different from their own, that both want to see that working people get adequate wages and have good working conditions, and that their general economic and social life is protected. The effort must be made to show women that their views on education, health, unemployment, prices, taxes and other issues are like labor's.

Mr. Meany, asked by a reporter to state labor's purpose in political action, said that labor's primary purpose is to see that labor gets a fair share of what it produces. Secondly, the A. F. of L. leader said, labor seeks to apply in a practical way the philosophy laid down by Samuel Gompers—that labor must reward its friends and defeat its enemies.

The big job of labor, said Mr. Meany, is to educate the people of the country to recognize that the objectives of labor are beneficial to all Americans. It must be shown to the people, he said, that what labor has so far been successful in accomplishing has been a greater contribution to the general welfare of the whole nation than the contribution of any other group, including big business.

The Council decided that the memorial to the late President William Green will take the form of awards for various charitable projects totalling \$100,000 annually. The William Green Memorial Committee, in its preliminary report, which was approved by the Council, proposed that \$1,000,000 be raised for the annual awards. The first award is expected to go toward building a hospital at Coshocton, Ohio, the home town of the Federation's late president. Further discussion of memorial plans will take place at the Council's next meeting in May.

National health insurance is still "a No. 1 social need of our country," the Executive Council declared in a statement. The Council lashed out



at the American Medical Association.

"Our demand for the enactment of health insurance is based on our knowledge of the needs of American wage-earners—the fact that the greatest barrier to securing adequate diagnostic and curative medical service

is the inability of individuals to pay for it," the Council's statement said.

The Executive Council authorized A. F. of L. sponsorship of a television forum to be presented over the American Broadcasting Company network, beginning next month. The programs

will be given every Sunday afternoon for a period of thirteen weeks and will be devoted to a pro and con discussion of current issues.

The Council gave its endorsement to the project to build a Harry S. Truman Library at Independence.

## Text of Council's Order to Longshoremen

*Following is the text of the statement issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on February 3 in regard to the situation in the International Longshoremen's Association:*

To the officers and members of the International Longshoremen's Association:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its present session, has given thorough consideration to the disclosures developed by the New York State Crime Commission affecting international and local union officers of the International Longshoremen's Association.

We have followed this investigation with interest and the reported widespread alleged crime, dishonesty, racketeering and other highly irregular and objectionable practices in which it is reported that officers of your international and local unions have been and are involved.

One of the most serious features of the New York City situation as pertains to your international union and its local unions, as outlined by recent testimony before the Crime Commission, is the clear and definite indication that these workers of the Port of New York are being exploited in every possible way and that they are not receiving the protection which they have every right to expect as trade unionists and members of your organization.

We have concluded that these disclosures are of such a serious nature as to call for immediate action by us. We wish to make clear the position of the A. F. of L. on crime and racketeering within your international and its local unions.

Your relationship with the A. F. of L. demands that the democratic ideal of clean and wholesome free trade unionism must be immediately restored within your organization and all semblance of crime, dishonesty and racketeering be forthwith eliminated.

Reported practices of international and local union officers accepting gifts and bribes from employers and the appointment of representatives with criminal records are denounced, and those persons guilty of these practices must be forthwith removed from office and eliminated from your organization.

The so-called "shape-up," which encourages the kickbacks and other objectionable practices, must be supplanted by a system of regular employment and legitimate hiring methods, and we request that you immediately take vigorous and effective action to institute this reform.

Union representatives with criminal records cannot be tolerated in any official capacity and they must be immediately removed from all positions of authority within your organization.

### Democracy Demanded

Recognized democratic procedures of the A. F. of L. must be put into operation in your local unions so that members who work on the waterfront will be able to select true and capable trade union leaders who will serve the best interests of the A. F. of L. and be free from the taint of crime and racketeering.

We deplore the reign of lawlessness and crime which has been disclosed on the New York City waterfront and we call upon those officials charged with the responsibility of law enforcement to bring to justice all those persons who may be guilty of any illegal acts.

The A. F. of L. is not clothed with authority nor is it our responsibility to do this job. We do feel, however, that your international union must forthwith take the necessary action to remove any and all of those representatives who may be participants in these unlawful activities.

The A. F. of L. is, as you know, a voluntary association of free and autonomous national and international unions. The founders of the A. F. of L. deliberately set up an organizational structure which would preclude the domination of our organization by any one man or group of men operating from the top.

The founders of the A. F. of L. saw to it that there was no police power given to the central organization which it could use to interfere with the internal affairs of national or international unions affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The Executive Council has no intention of changing the traditional position of the A. F. of L. in regard to the freedom and autonomy of its affiliated units. We feel that the greatest factor in the strength and

vigor of the A. F. of L. over the years has been its adherence to the principles of freedom and voluntarism.

However, no one should make the mistake of concluding that the A. F. of L. will sit by and allow abuse of autonomy on the part of any of its affiliates to bring injury to the entire movement.

The exercise of autonomy by affiliated units in an organization such as ours presupposes the maintenance of minimum standards of trade union decency. No affiliate of the A. F. of L. has any right to expect to remain an affiliate "on the grounds of organizational autonomy" if its conduct is such as to bring the entire movement into disrepute.

Likewise, the cloak of organizational autonomy cannot be used to shield those who have forgotten that the prime purpose of a trade union is to protect and advance the welfare and interests of the individual members of that trade union.

### Council Sets Time Limit

The failure of your organization and its officers to protect your membership from exploitation and oppression by employers as well as by thugs cannot be justified or defended on the ground of autonomy.

A. F. of L. affiliates have autonomy in the conduct of their affairs, but it must be conceded by all that there is an unwritten law that this freedom of action must be used to advance the interests of labor and not to exploit the workers.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. concludes that the I.L.A. must immediately, as a condition of continuing affiliation with the A. F. of L., take such actions necessary to place the I.L.A. and its local unions above suspicion and completely free of all racketeering, crime, corruption and other irregular activities disclosed by the recent investigation of crime on the New York City waterfront, to the end that the I.L.A. will serve the legitimate social and economic needs of its members in keeping with true trade union principles traditionally established by the A. F. of L.

The Executive Council will expect a report from you advising that the above recommendations have been and will be complied with on or before April 30, 1953.

# The Index and You

By BERT SEIDMAN

**M**OST statisticians can carry on their work without exciting much attention from the general public. But there is one group of statisticians who are very much in the public eye these days. They are the men and women who have the responsibility for computing and issuing the federal government's consumer price index, better known as the cost-of-living index.

This index, which is published monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, has been called the "billion-dollar index." That is because under so-called escalator clauses in collective bargaining agreements the wages of over 3,000,000 workers move up or down in step with the gyrations of this index.

Each month union members and employers eagerly await the figures that the Bureau's statistical machines grind out. If the index goes up, it means more money in the pay envelope; if it falls, wages may decline. No wonder the Bureau's monthly announcement of the level of the index makes the headlines in newspapers all over the country.

Right now the index is more than ever in the news because it is getting a "new look." The index the Bureau has been publishing until now has remained substantially unchanged for nearly twenty years. The Bureau says, quite correctly, that a lot of changes have taken place in the spending habits of American families during that time and, besides, new techniques have been developed for measuring the changes in the prices that consumers pay. So the Bureau has spent the last four years modernizing its index.

Before taking a look at the changes that have gone into the modernized index it may be worthwhile to say something about what the index attempts to do and—just as important—what it does not do.

Let us take the index numbers for a couple of months and see what they mean. In December, 1950, the official consumer price index was 178.8. In December, 1952, it was 190.7. Just

what do these two numbers represent? And what happened during this two-year interval to cause the index to rise from 178.8 to 190.7? To answer these questions we have to know something about how the index is computed.

The index issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics until now has been based on the cost to consumers of a "market basket" of goods and services—food, rent, bus and streetcar fares, shoe repair services and all the other things that families of city wage-earners and clerical workers were found to be buying in actual surveys which the Bureau made from 1934 to 1936.

The average of the prices of all of these items during the years 1935-1939 (referred to as the "base" period) was taken as 100. Each item was assigned a weight according to its proportion of total consumer expenditures.

Thus, as is indicated by the first column of the table below, food represented 35.4 per cent of total expenditures, housing 33.7 per cent, etc. The total of the weights of all of these items equals 100 per cent.

The items which are included in this "market basket" have been priced each month by Bureau representatives in stores in thirty-four cities to determine whether and how much prices are falling or rising.

Now to return to our two index

numbers for December, 1950, and December, 1952. The December, 1950, index of 178.8 was 78.8 per cent higher than 100, the average of prices for 1935-1939, the base period. That means that for every \$100 the average family spent for goods and services during 1935-1939, it had to spend \$178.80 in December, 1950. By December, 1952, the index had risen by an additional 11.9 points, or nearly 7 per cent. In that month it took \$190.70 to purchase what \$100 could buy in 1935-1939.

This brief explanation indicates what the index does. It measures the changes in prices of a relatively fixed group of items bought by families in 1934-1936. It is only a *relatively* fixed group of items because, in practice, whenever any item in the market basket disappears from the storekeepers' shelves, it has to be replaced in the market basket by a similar article.

As we shall see, right after the outbreak of the Korean war the Bureau made an admittedly incomplete attempt to adjust the market basket to postwar conditions so that since January, 1951, it has been issuing both the "old" index (based on the 1934-1936 surveys of consumer expenditures) and a hybrid index, known as the "adjusted" index, which was not a completely revised index but represented some modernization of the market basket used for the old index.

So much for a brief indication of

## RELATIVE IMPORTANCE

### Groups of Goods and Services

#### Priced for the Consumer Price Index

	Old Index Per Cent	Adjusted Index Per Cent	Revised Index Per Cent
Food .....	35.4	33.3	30.1
Housing .....	33.7	26.2	32.0
Apparel .....	10.6	11.7	9.7
Transportation .....	8.1	11.4	11.0
Other .....	12.2	17.4	17.2
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

the nature of the index and what it does represent. Now let us consider some of the limitations of the index, for a good rule to follow in using statistics is to have as clear an idea as to what the figures *do not* show as what they do show. It is particularly necessary to adhere to this principle in using the consumer price index. Just because it is such a useful statistical tool, it is perhaps more likely than other statistics to be misused or applied inappropriately.

Here are some purposes that the consumer price index does not serve:

(1) The index measures the change in the average of all consumer prices. It does not measure exactly the change in prices paid by any one family or even a particular group of families such as the families of the workers in the factory or office where you are employed. However, it is likely to be a fairly accurate measure of changes in prices paid by most families of wage-earners and clerical workers.

When the index is used, however, to measure the changes in prices paid by other groups, such as very low-income workers or retired old folks, it may be quite wide of the mark. Since there is no other reliable measure of changes in consumer prices, we tend to use it as a measure of the change in prices paid by all groups in the population (except farmers, for whom there is a separate index published by the Department of Agriculture), but when we do so we should recognize that the index has very serious limitations. For example, families of very low-income workers must devote a larger share of their incomes to the bare necessities of life, especially food. Therefore, the index, which is geared to the expenditure pattern of average-income workers who can spend a somewhat smaller proportion of their incomes for food, is not entirely accurate when it is used to measure the change in prices paid by workers whose incomes are considerably below average.

(2) Although the consumer price index is commonly known as the cost-of-living index (and until fairly recently was officially known by that title), it is important to understand that the index does not measure the changes in the actual cost of living of workers' families but only the changes in the prices of the market basket based on the 1934-1936 pattern of

expenditures. The actual pattern of expenditures of consumers is constantly changing as new products come on to the market, replacing others that are no longer available. These changes occur much more rapidly than the Bureau of Labor Statistics revises the market basket on which it bases the consumer price index. Yet it is the actual expenditures, and not the theoretical market basket, which is the measure of the real cost of living of workers' families. To the extent that the market basket varies from the actual expenditures of workers' families, the index will fail to reflect the changes in workers' cost of living. It was partly in recognition of this fact that in 1945 the Bureau decided to change the official title of the index from cost-of-living index to consumers' price index.

(3) The index is particularly inappropriate as a measure of the change in expenditures required by workers as their living standards improve. The very nature of improvements in living standards implies a change in the pattern of consumer expenditures which is completely inconsistent with the fixed market basket principle on which the consumer price index is based.

**T**O KEEP the index from diverging too far from the actual way in which families of American workers spend their incomes, the Bureau has periodically revised the index to take account of altered patterns of consumer expenditures. The Bureau had already done preliminary work on such a revision when the Korean war broke out. Believing that there might be some far-reaching changes in the pattern of consumer expenditures as a result of the Korean war and the ensuing defense mobilization, the Bureau decided not to wait for completion of the modernization of the index and to rush through what it called an "interim" revision of the index. This interim revision was based on scattered surveys of consumer expenditures made in a few cities during the period 1946-1949. The resulting index, which the Bureau began to publish in January, 1951, and was computed back to January, 1950, was known as the "adjusted" index. The weights given to the various items of expenditure in this index are shown in the middle column of the table.

Most unions with escalator clauses

in their contracts have not accepted the adjusted index because they have felt that the 1946-1949 expenditure patterns on which the adjusted index was based have not accurately reflected consumer expenditures during the defense mobilization period. The Bureau has continued to publish the "old" index, based on the 1934-1936 consumer expenditure surveys, alongside the adjusted index. It is the old index which has been most widely used in collective bargaining.

Beginning with the index for July, 1953, to be published at the end of August, 1953, only the revised index will be published. The old and adjusted indexes were to have been discontinued with the January, 1953, index, but because of the problems involved in so many collective bargaining contracts under which periodic wage adjustments are geared to changes in the old index, an arrangement has been made to continue the old index for an additional six months. This will give the parties to collective bargaining contracts more time to work out the problems involved in converting from the old to the revised index.

After the six-month breathing space during which the old index will continue to be published, the revised index will be the only consumer price index. Therefore, it is worthwhile to consider the following major changes involved in the revision of the index:

(1) The revised index involves a new and somewhat different market basket of goods and services based on the expenditures of families of wage-earners and clerical workers during the year 1950. This is shown in the last column of the table. The Bureau obtained this information from families in ninety-seven representative cities, including all of the twelve largest urban areas with populations of over 1,000,000 and a representative group of additional large, medium-sized and small cities. This new market basket includes many items

**ATTEND  
and take part  
in your  
UNION MEETINGS**



now purchased by workers and their families, some of which were completely unknown in the mid-Thirties when the Bureau made its last complete survey of consumer expenditures. Examples of such items are television sets, frozen foods and nylon hosiery. This means that the index will be based on a more realistic pattern of expenditures than previously, but it should be noted that a change in the market basket also affects the comparability between the revised index and the previously published figures.

(2) The base period for the revised index is 1947-1949, which means that the index numbers published each month will represent changes from the level of consumer prices during that period instead of, as formerly, changes from the 1935-1939 period.

(3) Certain improvements have been introduced in the revised index. New procedures will permit the pricing of home ownership costs and allow for the effect of rentals of new homes. Restaurant meals, used cars and other items will be separately priced for the first time.

Most of the changes introduced in the revised index have contributed to improvement of the index. They will make it a more accurate measure of the changes in the prices consumers pay. There are, however, several shortcomings in the revised index which have been analyzed in a statement issued January 2 by the Cost-of-Living Committee of the American Federation of Labor. The members of this committee are President George Meany, Vice-President William C. Doherty and A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists.

In the statement the committee—

(1) Questioned the validity of the market basket used as the basis for revision of the index. In doing so, the committee pointed to the fact that the 1950 "consumer patterns used by the Bureau in making the revision were affected by postwar readjustments and the abnormal situation brought about by Communist aggression in Korea."

(2) Criticized the Bureau for failure to take account of the effect of income taxes on purchasing power of workers. For some time the American Federation of Labor has recommended that the Bureau of Labor Statistics publish, in addition to the

regular index, another one which would show the effect of increased taxes on the purchasing power of workers. The committee reemphasized the Federation's position in favor of the publication of such an index.

(3) Took note of the problem which the Bureau faces in securing prices of identical goods and services from one period to another. The committee said: "While the Bureau of Labor Statistics relies on detailed specifications in an attempt to obtain prices of comparable items, many of these are too broad to permit accurate comparisons in all cases. This problem is particularly serious during periods of shortages of goods and rising prices."

In calling attention to these limitations of the revised index, the Cost-of-Living Committee of the American Federation of Labor nevertheless commended the Bureau "for its comprehensive revision of the index within the limits of available budget and existing techniques."

The main purpose of the Cost-of-Living Committee was to analyze the strong and weak points of the revised index in order to guide unions in the use of the index in wage negotiations. The index figures in almost all wage negotiations, but it is particularly important to unions which have negotiated contracts with so-called escalator clauses. Under these clauses, periodic wage adjustments are directly related to changes in the index.

The revision of the index and the discontinuance of the old and adjusted indexes provide such unions with the opportunity to determine whether they wish to continue the use of the escalator clause and, if they do, whether there should be changes in the formula governing the relationship between consumer prices and wages as now specified in the contract.

Unions wishing to continue the use of the escalator clause must convert from the index they are now using (old or adjusted) to the revised index. The Research Department of the American Federation of Labor has prepared a statement, "How to Use the Revised Consumer Price Index in Wage Negotiations," which is intended to assist unions in dealing with these problems resulting from the revision of the index.

Thus, the revision of the index means not only that the consumer price index will be getting a new look but also that unions will be taking a new look at the index. Not all unions with escalator clauses will continue automatic adjustment of wages to price changes as measured by the consumer price index. But whether the index is used automatically in escalator clauses or not, the trend in living costs will continue to be an important consideration in wage negotiation. As long as the consumer price index is the best measure that we have of the purchasing power of the worker's dollar, it will continue to be front-page news.



**TEAMSTERS' LEADER TALKS TO EISENHOWER**—President Dave Beck of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters visited the White House to make a plea for the trucking industry. Man at the right is Arthur D. Condon, a lawyer.



# A VERY SOLID ORGANIZATION

## *Metal Polishers Are Proud of Their History*

By **RAY MUEHLHOFFER**

*President, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers  
and Helpers International Union*

**O**URS is a long and glorious history. Its indirect beginning is in New York City in 1880 with an organization known as the Brass Workers, Metal Polishers and Platers, an affiliate of the old Knights of Labor. Shortly after that organization was formed, others in the polishing, plating and general brass industry came into being. In 1888 these organizations united, under the banner of the Knights of Labor, as National Trades Assembly 252, with jurisdiction over "brass molders, finishers, metal polishers, grinders, platers, chasers, filers, chandelier makers, rollers, spinners, stampers and general brass workers."

At the second convention of National Trades Assembly 252, held at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1889, many of the delegates, recognizing the fallacy of the Knights of Labor's policy of industrial unionism and the soundness of the policies of the newly formed American Federation of Labor, withdrew. They organized the International Brotherhood of Brass Workers and obtained a charter from the American Federation of Labor on September 6, 1892.

Almost simultaneously with the formation in 1880 of the Brass Workers, Metal Polishers and Platers in New York City, the first local union of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers on a purely craft union basis was organized in Detroit. This occurred in 1882.

The Detroit union was also affiliated with the Knights of Labor, as was a similar craft union formed shortly thereafter in Toledo. These two local organizations withdrew from the Knights of Labor in 1889, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and sent delegates to the 1890 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit.



**MR. MUEHLHOFFER**

Within a year twelve local unions of metal polishers were affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. In January of 1892 these local unions met in convention at Toledo and formed the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers International Union of North America. That organization then applied for and was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor on March 8, 1892.

Thus in 1892 two organizations claiming jurisdiction over metal polishers and platers were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In 1894 the old National Trades Assembly 252, which had remained with the Knights of Labor, withdrew from that organization and amalgamated with the International Brotherhood of Brass Workers.

**A**T THE American Federation of Labor convention of 1895, the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers International Union made an effort to prevent the seating of the delegate of the Brass Workers International Union. To resolve the conflict between these two organizations, Samuel

Gompers worked out what became known as "the Syracuse agreement."

Pursuant to this agreement, the organizations were to merge, but brass molders and all others engaged in those branches of the industry outside of polishers, buffers and platers were to withdraw and form their own international organization as soon as seven local unions of brass molders could be formed.

By 1896 the brass molders and other branches of the industry had withdrawn, and the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers International Union stood, as it stands today, a craft organization composed of metal polishers, buffers and platers.

The American Federation of Labor's basic principle of trade autonomy thus formed the basis of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers International Union, and our organization has adhered strictly to that principle ever since. We have never sought members for the mere sake of membership itself. We have confined our activities to those engaged in our trade. As a result, few groups of workers have benefited more.

At the turn of the century the working conditions in the nation's polishing and plating rooms were deplorable. Blower and exhaust systems, to carry off lint and abrasives from polishing wheels and fumes from plating tanks, were conspicuous by their absence. Clouds of abrasive dust filled the polishing rooms, while the air in plating rooms was polluted with poisonous and obnoxious fumes from open tanks.

Health conditions were so bad and the life expectancy of a metal polisher and plater so low that life insurance was not available to those engaged in the trade.

The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and (Continued on Page 31)

# The A. F. of L. in New Jersey

*State Federation Is Growing in Size and Prestige;  
75th Anniversary Will Be Celebrated This Year*

By LOUIS P. MARCIANTE

*President, New Jersey State Federation of Labor*

**T**HE New Jersey State Federation of Labor is getting ready for its diamond jubilee. We are beginning to prepare to mark our seventy-fifth anniversary when we hold our convention in May at Atlantic City.

Our State Federation of Labor was in existence before the formation of the American Federation of Labor itself. We believe that ours is the oldest State Federation in continuous existence in the nation. There may be one other State Federation that was organized ahead of us, but our research indicates that no other state labor body has functioned as continuously and uninterruptedly as have we.

The growth and development of the New Jersey Federation have been marked by accomplishments and adversities common to many State Federations and particularly those in industrial areas. However, its growth during the past three years, based largely upon an intensive expansion program, has been indeed notable and, in certain respects, perhaps phenomenal.

The American Federation of Labor in New Jersey, through the State Federation, has gained appreciably in membership and in prestige. The most phenomenal fact perhaps is this: that the State Federation in a period of twenty-eight months gained 256 new affiliations in the form of local unions, central labor bodies and state associations.

As the president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, I know that when I speak, with understandable pride, of these accomplishments at meetings in other parts of the country, the usual query put to me is:

"How did you fellows in New Jersey accomplish this?"

My reply generally points out that

it was through intensive effort and hard work. There was direct contact with the heads of international unions and with the leaders of various crafts in our state, and the initiative also shown by Executive Board members of the State Federation was helpful.

I personally took charge of this membership drive and had the help of our able secretary-treasurer, Vincent J. Murphy. I augmented this by addressing various locals and other groups and emphasizing the responsibility they owed themselves and the labor movement by joining our ranks.

We posed a direct challenge to these bodies, just as we are doing to many others which are still unaffiliated. This was a challenge of either forsaking responsibility or joining hands with fellow trade unionists for preservation of the movement and accomplishment through beneficial legislation, through concerted political action and through working together in a mutually advantageous way.

We impressed upon them that it was necessary to fight off any common reactionary foe who might seek to injure or willfully destroy those labor gains which were achieved in industrial states like New Jersey after much sweat and much disillusionment.

From the figures previously cited, it is obvious that we have made a definite achievement in bringing many of the unions into the State Federation of Labor. The campaign started in August, 1950, and as of December, 1952, the gain was 256 new affiliates. As a result, our Federation now is comprised of more than 800 affiliated bodies, and we may say with justification that we speak for well over 300,000 A. F. of L. workers in our state.

The great gain in affiliated strength stems from the expansion program which the officers of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor authorized in the fall of 1949, following our annual convention. We enlarged our



*President Marciante is at the extreme left and next to him is Secretary Murphy. The legislative program is being discussed*

suite of offices in downtown Newark, added some secretarial help and began to concentrate in a determined manner upon the need of bringing home to all A. F. of L. unions in New Jersey our objectives—the objectives of the labor movement—and realizing our aim to make the State Federation of Labor a stronghold for A. F. of L. advancement on the state level.

Our interest and achievements in connection with legislative endeavor had to be brought home forcefully and realistically. This held true at both the national and state levels. Feeling that we had every right to speak for consumers as well as organized workers, we made our views known to our Congressional representatives on taxation, economic controls, housing, Taft-Hartley Act, national defense, aid to backward areas and many other important matters.

We sponsored a huge price and rent control rally in the fall of 1951. It drew attendance and representation from ten North Jersey counties—virtually one-half of the state—and received widespread press recognition. This rally served to dramatize in an effective manner that labor wanted controls that really mean something and that protect the purchasing power of the wage-earner and consumer.

**T**HE New Jersey State Federation of Labor has been a pioneer in certain legislative endeavor. For instance, in the field of workmen's compensation it was among the first to fight for suitable protective legislation for the workers and it saw these provisions enacted into law many years ago and subsequently improved them.

Similarly in the field of unemployment compensation, the State Federation of Labor was in the forefront where the workers are concerned. We take pride in the fact that the Unemployment Compensation Law in our state was predicated upon the minority report made by our secretary-treasurer, Brother Murphy, who had served as a labor representative on the original Social Security Commission appointed by former Governor Hoffman to study the social security structure in our state.

Brother Murphy successfully insisted upon workers' contributions to the U.C. fund, thus giving them a more direct voice in participation and administration.



**Feminine trade unionists are active in State Federation affairs. These women were delegates at the 1952 Asbury Park convention**

Again, the New Jersey State Federation of Labor showed its interest in social security improvement in the state by being among the first to call for temporary disability benefits. I may say in this connection that through prolonged activity on our part we finally have brought maximum U.C. and T.D. benefits in New Jersey up to \$30 per week, although we have made it plain that we shall continue to advocate bringing this maximum up to \$40 per week not only for unemployment and temporary disability but also for workmen's compensation.

I may also say, in passing, that several years ago we succeeded in getting on the statute books of our state what is known as the Injunction Procedure Law—and this came about after an uphill struggle of more than a quarter of a century.

Naturally we place great emphasis upon our legislative endeavor. With any federated body such as ours, legislation, of necessity, becomes one of the major concerns. This holds especially true in a state where labor has had a constant struggle to win some kind of legislative recognition and where hostility to labor's legislative objectives becomes at times all too obvious. Hence, we continually stress to our affiliates and also to those who we are seeking to enroll in the Federation the need for unified legislative endeavor.

Not long ago Brother Murphy and I, in cooperation with our Legislative Counsel, Thomas L. Parsonnet, and the chairman of our Federation's Legislative Committee, Brother Wesley A. Taylor, completed a proposed state legislative program for 1953. This includes thirty measures which

we deem of special significance to organized labor. We sent copies of this program to our affiliated bodies, asking them to bring it to the attention of their legislative committees, with a view, of course, toward coordinated action.

Meanwhile, Brother Murphy and I, as legislative representatives of the Federation, and with the valued assistance of Brother Taylor and Counselor Parsonnet, will keep right "on the ball," so to speak, appearing at the weekly sessions of the Legislature, contacting and interviewing legislators, seeking favorable action on our program. This legislative business calls for almost unceasing watchfulness and quite a bit of stamina.

We are looking into the record number of violations of child labor laws in the state, especially in certain farm areas. We have already called for a greater measure of enforcement on the part of our state authorities.

Because of a vicious party caucus system which prevails in New Jersey, our great difficulty is getting pro-labor measures out of committee and on the floor of the Legislature for consideration and action. Because the Legislature is predominantly Republican, we must look to the help and goodwill of certain legislators to assist us with introduction of bills and to try to get favorable consideration from the party caucus. The Democratic members have been uniformly friendly and have supported our bills.

In recent years we were very fortunate in having, as one of our Republican Assemblymen, Brother Lewis M. Herrmann of Newark, long conspicuously active in the Typographical (Continued on Page 27)



# Force Ouvrière Forges Ahead

## France's Free Labor Holds Good Convention

By ANDRE LAFOND

Secretary, Force Ouvrière

PARIS.

**T**HE third convention of the Force Ouvrière was held here recently. As its resolutions indicate, the convention did constructive work. The number and competence of the delegates proved that the Force Ouvrière has advanced quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

The convention had to face a great many difficult problems, both in the domestic field and in the international field.

The resolutions dealing with French economic and social policy adopted by the convention included the following:

### SOCIAL SECURITY

In order to defend and improve the present system, which is being vigorously attacked by employers and the government, the convention proposed a number of measures designed to carry out a reform and to achieve financial stability and, at the same time, to improve the benefits.

### ECONOMIC PROGRAM

The convention rejected the policy of the Pinay government which strengthened big business while imposing new burdens on working people. The convention recommended, among other things, the following measures: price control, modernization of industry, a policy of full employment and high wages, return to the forty-hour week and tax reform.

### PRODUCTIVITY

A long discussion took place on the problem of productivity. It was sparked by the attitude of French employers and the failure of the government in regard to this issue. The Force Ouvrière had agreed to participate in several agencies which were to study and carry out productivity projects. However, experience has shown that the efforts made and

the results obtained in this activity have not benefited labor at all.

The convention defined the conditions under which the notion of productivity would become acceptable to the workers and trade unions would be willing to support a productivity drive. A majority of the delegates, who felt that a strong protest against the attitude of the employers was called for, decided to withdraw Force Ouvrière representatives from all bodies dealing with the problem of productivity. This decision of the convention caused a public sensation.

### HOUSING

After declaring that it is the responsibility of the community to provide adequate housing, the convention sharply criticized the inactivity of the government in this field. The delegates adopted a resolution calling for the construction of 120,000 to 240,000 housing units each year.

### YOUTH PROGRAM

The convention decided to promote the organization and training of young workers.

### EDUCATION

A long resolution pointed out the errors, insufficiencies and failures of the public education system in France and its overseas territories and proposed a program designed to remedy this situation. Although the delegates praised the educational work done by the Force Ouvrière, they resolved to step up the F.O.'s educational programs, as the training of trade union officers is of the utmost importance for the French free trade union movement.

The convention criticized the investment policies prevailing in France's overseas territories which serve above all the interests of privileged groups

instead of aiming at improving the economic and social conditions of the population.

Another resolution protested admission of Franco Spain into UNESCO.

The debate on North Africa was often dramatic. French public opinion is not only very sensitive as far as Tunisia and Morocco are concerned, but it feels that the colonial problem is not so simple as it would appear from a rigidly doctrinaire point of view.

Many Frenchmen are afraid that the nationalism of the European occupying power will be replaced by a local nationalism which is not *per se* progressive and democratic, and that the establishment of national governments which are independent of the colonial and protecting power will result in a worsening of the situation of the working people. Furthermore, they fear that these governments will be overthrown and Stalinist forces will come to power which would then be nothing but agents of Soviet imperialism.

On the other hand, there are Frenchmen who believe that the liberation of colonial countries necessarily includes a nationalist phase and that afterward a struggle for social demands will get under way. Without underestimating the Stalinist danger, they think that it is worthwhile to take this risk. They therefore advocate the creation of national trade union centers in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

According to them, it is the duty of the French free trade union movement to collaborate with the U.G.T.T. in Tunisia and to help in organizing national trade union centers in Morocco and in Algeria.

The Force Ouvrière adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution which read as follows:



"The convention reiterates that it is the mission of trade unionism to liberate the workers of all countries. Its action takes place in the field of class struggle and not in the narrow and dangerous framework of nationalism. It [the convention] denounces colonialism and its evils as being chiefly responsible for the present situation in North Africa."

The resolution proposed a number of political, economic and social reforms intended to achieve a real emancipation of the workers.

The discussion on the international situation centered around two draft resolutions which reflected two opposite points of view to be found not only in the French labor movement but in French public opinion as a whole.

The first resolution, which was adopted by a large majority, reaffirmed the pacifist position of the labor movement. But it took a realistic attitude toward the present international situation and it, therefore, declared in favor of the camp of democracy and denounced Soviet imperialism.

Although not being neutralist, as has been said, the other resolution refused to make a clear choice between the Russian oppressors and American capitalists.

The approved resolution said:

"Labor trade unionism does not forget its pacific vocation. But peace is not the result of a simple wish, no matter how fervent it may be. The desire for peace should not make us forget the existence of forces which threaten it, and the true pacifists have the duty to denounce and oppose the ideologies, systems and methods which maintain this threat."

After assailing the brutal expansionist drive of Russian totalitarianism, especially in Korea, the resolution said that "the trade union movement has the duty to assume the responsibility for the defense of liberties threatened from outside and to admit the necessity of assuring the defense of the free peoples." The resolution proposed effective measures for securing peace, among them European unification.

More than any other free trade union force in France, the Force Ouvrière has been painfully aware of the dispersion and consequent weakness of French democratic labor. After hav- (Continued on Page 26)



Stam in AFL News-Reporter

## We Are All Brothers

By GEORGE MEANY

Brotherhood is of the essence of trade unionism. Our locals and internationals are fraternal in their nature. We address each other as brothers. And we are brothers the nation and world over.

We of the American Federation of Labor are in an organization that was founded by a Jew and named by a Negro, but we are not Jews, nor Negroes, nor Catholics; we are not of Irish descent, nor French, nor British, Italian or Swedish. WE ARE AMERICANS ALL.

Each of us was created equal, we know, and has been endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. This is fundamental and natural doctrine to us as members of A. F. of L. trade unions and as members of that other union, the United States of America.

We, each of us, stand as individuals, jealous of the rights and determined for the freedoms of every other individual, here and across the oceans.

We stand united, knowing that there is no greater strength than that of brothers, shoulder to shoulder.

# EDITORIALS *by George Meany*

## ***Eisenhower Takes Over***

**D**WIGHT D. EISENHOWER made his debut as President of the United States by dedicating his Administration to work for peace without appeasement.

The nine basic principles proclaimed by President Eisenhower in his inaugural address will be universally supported, except by Communists and isolationists. The fact that his announced program does not differ in any obvious way from that of the Truman Administration should be regarded as encouraging, rather than disappointing.

To the millions of Americans who watched the proceedings on TV, the bearing of the man as he took the oath of office must have been more impressive than what he subsequently said. Here was a Chief Executive clearly inspired by a sense of dedication to the great responsibilities he must assume.

All of us join in hoping that this inspiration will stay with him throughout his term of service in the White House and illumine the vital decisions that lie ahead.

## ***Public Housing***

**O**NCE AGAIN the National Association of Home Builders has sounded off at its annual convention against the public housing program. Apparently this group is determined to renew its efforts to prevail upon Congress to kill the program.

Because of the strengthened position of the reactionaries in Congress, the enemies of public housing are encouraged to launch an all-out fight at this session. This means that labor and all other supporters of public housing must do a more effective job than ever before to prevent an adverse decision.

What are the facts in this controversy? They can be summarized as follows:

(1) Evil slums exist in almost every large city

in the United States. Some of the worst are situated right in the nation's capital, under the very noses of members of Congress. Eradication of slums and the human degradation that results from slum conditions constitutes a community problem. Yet few communities have the means to finance an effective slum-clearance program.

(2) It is not enough to tear down slums. You just can't put people out of their homes without providing new ones. Those who are forced to live in slums cannot afford to rent or buy better housing at present market prices. The high cost of available new homes or rental housing is far beyond the reach of the average low-income, slum-dwelling family.

(3) The private home builders claim that public housing is "socialistic." They call it "subsidized housing." They assert that the private building industry can handle this problem more effectively than any government agency. Thus far, however, the private home builders have not come up with any realistic program of their own. The few definite proposals they have made cost too much to meet the problem of the low-income families who need help most. As for rental housing, no practical solution of any kind has been forthcoming from those who oppose government action in this field.

(4) Many communities throughout the nation have shown a willingness to clean up slums and construct decent, low-cost housing to replace them. With the help of loans and grants from the federal government, they are confident they can do a good job. This is not a new idea, nor is it in any way socialistic. The mere fact that Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio has consistently supported public housing programs should be the best answer to that old bugaboo. It is difficult to imagine Senator Taft as the sponsor of socialistic experiments.

From labor's point of view, an effective low-cost housing program, under combined federal,

state and community auspices, for families in the low-income bracket makes good, hard, common-sense. The investment would pay off rich dividends in better health and the elimination of breeding centers for crime and communism.

In the past opponents of the housing program have been careful to avoid giving the impression that they were out for the kill. Their strategy has been to strangle public housing activity by technical amendments and to keep it starved by cutting appropriations to a minimum. Whether they will become more daring at this session of Congress remains to be seen.

Regardless of their strategy, the American Federation of Labor, which has consistently led the fight for progressive housing legislation, will not be content to remain merely on the defensive. We are determined to enlist the widest possible public support for a workable and comprehensive housing program that will meet the nation's immediate and long-range needs.

### *The Kremlin Crusade*

THREE YEARS ago the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued the first public warning of the development of anti-Semitism behind the Iron Curtain. Now the grim story of the persecution and slaughter of the Jews in Soviet Russia and her satellites is making headlines.

This is the way of dictatorship, whether it be of the right or the left. It is implicit in the Soviet plan of rule or ruin. With their fantastic stories of espionage and conspiracy by manufactured enemies, the leaders of the Kremlin are trying to whip the people into a frenzy which will prepare the way for another world war.

Therefore, the genocidal wave of terror that is taking place behind the Iron Curtain is very much our business. The people of the free world must keep alert to the essential truth that not only the fate of the beleaguered Jews now being victimized is involved but our own security. As President Eisenhower said in his inaugural address:

"We reject any insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable."

Whatever can be done by the free nations by way of protesting against the inhuman treatment of Russian citizens will have doubtful value in

staying the bloody hands of the Communist tyrants. Nevertheless, America should leave no step unexplored. It should call for outspoken condemnation by the U.N. of such barbaric practices. Human decency demands that plans be formulated to provide for the thousands of Jews now fleeing the Red terror. Our country, with its long tradition as a haven for the oppressed and persecuted of all lands, must take a leading part in formulating such plans in conjunction with the other free nations of the world.

While little that we say or do is likely to deter the Communists, the united protests of the free world will at least serve as a fresh reminder to the people of all nations that the ways of dictatorship must be shunned by all decent human beings.

### *The Ex-President*

IT COULDN'T happen anywhere else in the world. Harry S. Truman, smilingly shaking hands with his successor on the steps of the Capitol, made a picture of which every American can be proud. This was more than a symbol of good sportsmanship. It epitomized the democratic way of life as practiced in our country, where one Administration with a definite point of view can hand over the reins of government to another Administration of an opposing political party just as calmly and politely as the traditional hand-clasp between the winner and loser of a tennis match.

Imagine how different the circumstances would be with a changeover of government in a totalitarian nation!

Although Mr. Truman has gone home and retired to private life, it is to be expected that he will continue, as time goes on, to comment and participate in public affairs. The ex-President is proud of his record of achievement and he is sensitive to criticism. He has too much fighting spirit to permit any broadside attacks on his policies to go unchallenged.

While it is still too early to assess the Truman Fair Deal in detail, one thing is certain—his handling of foreign policy problems has left an indelible mark on history. He met the menace of Communist aggression with courage and foresight. Of course, he stepped out of office before final success could be achieved, but the new President will benefit from the good start Truman made.



# The San Antonio Labor Story

## *Unionists Are Active in Civic Affairs*

By F. E. SWALES

*President, San Antonio Trades Council*

**S**AN ANTONIO is located eighty miles south of Austin, the capital of Texas. Cosmopolitan San Antonio, a city of 450,000, includes many military bases, such as Lackland Air Force Base, Fort Sam Houston, Brooks Field, Randolph Field, Kelly Air Base with the world's largest airplane repair shops and Brooke General Hospital. These military installations employ a great many members of organized labor. Their presence in these positions and fine performance of their duties do a good public relations job for organized labor.

The San Antonio Trades Council was organized in 1891. The prime objective of the American Federation of Labor movement of San Antonio is to elevate the working man and make working conditions better. We have worked diligently to carry out our program. While our growth has not been phenomenal, it has been a steady growth. Whatever claims to success we have had must be ascribed to strict adherence to the policies of the American Federation of Labor and to close cooperation with the Texas State Federation of Labor.

Americans of Latin descent are about 40 per cent of San Antonio's total population. The city has a goodly number of Negro residents. The minority groups are well represented in the membership of organized labor in San Antonio.

Meetings of the San Antonio Trades Council are always opened with a word of prayer and the pledge of allegiance to the American Flag. The Trades Council has long realized the need for closer cooperation of labor and religion. A move was started in San Antonio last year to have the Sunday preceding Labor Day set aside as Labor Sunday. On that Sunday each pastor is asked to preach a special sermon for labor and to have a special section set aside for our members at each church. The request was

received favorably. Members of the clergy of all faiths are given honorary membership in the San Antonio Trades Council and attend our meetings quite regularly.

One of the aims of the San Antonio Trades Council is to place active members of organized labor on important civic groups such as the Library Board, the Housing Board, the Community Chest, the Tuberculosis Asso-



MR. SWALES

ciation, the Red Cross, Civil Defense, Boys Club, Heart Campaign and the City Charter Committee.

By aligning ourselves actively with these civic committees and organizations, we create a more friendly attitude toward labor, render valuable services to our community and enhance the prestige of organized labor.

When the city was contemplating changing from the commissioner form of government to the city manager plan, a member from our organization was appointed to the committee to formulate the new city charter. He was successful in getting a clause in this charter which read as follows:

"Any contract let by the city of San Antonio for more than \$1000 shall stipulate that the wage rate paid shall be the prevailing wage rate as prescribed by the United States Department of Labor."

The Manufacturers Association and many business men raised strenuous objections. Another committee was appointed to write another new charter. Again a member of the San Antonio Trades Council was appointed to serve as a committee member. The new charter group would not permit any clause pertaining to wages to be inserted, and this is the charter which was voted upon and passed by the citizens of San Antonio.

Without the "prevailing wage" clause in the city charter, organized labor has to play a watchdog role and fight for all city contracts. So far organized labor has been successful in getting its share. We have a large number of union members employed by the city at this time, nearly all crafts being represented.

The organizations affiliated with the San Antonio Trades Council often look to the central body for a guiding hand, especially the smaller locals. Assistance has been given in the organizing of the Bakery Workers, Molders Union, Composition Roofers, Building Service Employees, Butcher Workmen, Office Employees, Cleaners and Dyers, Boot and Shoe Workers, Brick and Clay Workers, Candy Makers and others.

When an A. F. of L. organization in San Antonio finds that it faces a strike, the Trades Council is always on hand to help if called upon—with financial assistance, moral assistance, help with the picket line or legal advice from its lawyers. Seldom is a charge made by the legal staff of the Council to small organizations or newly organized locals struggling to keep their charter.

Arrangements are made for the use

of the facilities of the San Antonio Labor Temple as strike headquarters for organizations not yet affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This promotes labor cooperation and understanding.

Great assistance was given to the striking employees of the Fehr Baking Company. This was a small local union waging a gallant fight for higher wages, better working conditions and union recognition. San Antonio labor gave financial assistance, legal advice and help with the National Labor Relations Board. During the strike the members of labor were reminded constantly that Fehr bread was unfair.

The Cooks and Waiters, a small organization, found the entire legal staff of the Open Shop Association thrown against them during their strike. They appealed to the San Antonio Trades Council. Help was immediately made available.

Other organizations that have had the support of the Trades Council in strikes were the Teamsters, who struck for union recognition; the Motion Picture Operators, whose strike lasted twenty-one months; Western Union workers, Cement Workers, and the Butcher Workmen and Meat Cutters, who obtained a decent wage for the Latin American workers in the city's meat industry. Several larger organizations have had the endorsement and moral support of the Council in their strikes. In all instances we favor justice and frank cooperation between trade unions and employers.

Membership in the Council is limited to San Antonio labor organizations which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Council opposes child labor. We oppose the employment of convict labor or war prisoner labor in competition with free labor. We oppose the employment of soldiers to do labor in competition with or to displace civilian labor. We favor equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, race or color. We favor compulsory education and free textbooks for all children in the public schools.

The San Antonio Trades Council observes Labor Day with a proper celebration. Any surplus from the annual Labor Day celebration is always used in a manner most beneficial to all organized labor. The funds have been put to such good uses as repairs to the Labor Temple, to de-

fray expenses of holding the Texas State Federation of Labor convention in San Antonio, to hold an annual Christmas Party and to meet the expenses which are incurred in participation in civic activities.

**T**HROUGH the cooperation of the Bexar County Tax Assessor and the San Antonio Trades Council, facilities are provided each year for members to pay their poll tax and purchase their automobile licenses at the Labor Temple. This service is greatly appreciated by union members as it makes possible a one-stop payment of license fees, poll taxes and union dues without the discomfort of standing in line for hours at the courthouse.

Since the inauguration of this service and labor's stepped-up educational program, the membership has grown more political-minded. In 1952 the members were very active in the political field. We, like many others, fought hard to retain the Democrats in office but were caught in the Eisenhower landslide. As true Americans we will support our new President heart and soul on all constructive legislation and undertakings that are for the benefit of our great country and

its people. However, we will continue to fight for the rights of labor and for the repeal of the nine infamous labor laws now on the statute books in the great state of Texas.

Happy indeed were we to have the privilege of having a delegate attend the recent session of the Southern A. F. of L. School at Lakeland, Florida. This is said not because we were the only central body represented from Texas but because we feel that the type of education offered is what all union members, and especially the officers of organizations, need.

It behooves the representatives of San Antonio's working people to adopt such measures as will bring the greatest good to the city's toilers and will win public support for organized labor and its objectives. We must take such steps as will—consistent with the laws of our country and the principles of justice—oppose the antagonistic organizations and the enemies of organized labor.

The effectiveness of organized labor's work in San Antonio will be in proportion to the size of the membership affiliated and in proportion to the loyalty to the cause and the enthusiasm shown by our members.



*Martin Durkin is sworn in as Secretary of Labor by Justice Vinson*

#### **DURKIN HAS LABOR DEPARTMENT RUNNING SMOOTHLY**

The new Secretary of Labor, labor's own Martin P. Durkin, has taken hold of his new position in characteristic fashion. Although he has been in office only a short time, following his confirmation by the Senate and the official swearing-in ceremony before President Eisenhower at the White House, Secretary Durkin—an experienced administrator—already has the Labor Department functioning smoothly. Mr. Durkin wants to strengthen the Department in every reasonable way during his term as Secretary.

# THE FISH CANNERY WORKERS

By JAMES WAUGH

**T**HE Los Angeles harbor area is currently the leading commercial fishing port in the world. Representing a capital investment in excess of \$110,000,000 and employing more than 10,000 cannery workers and 2,500 fishermen during the peak of the Southern California sardine season, this great industry originated from one small cannery on the mud flats of what is now called Terminal Island.

Situated in the Los Angeles harbor, Terminal Island is the location of tuna, sardine and mackerel canneries. Producing approximately 65 per cent of all American-canned tuna and 90 percent of all American-canned Pacific sardines and mackerel, these fish canneries are all covered by a blanket industry contract between the Cannery Workers Union of the Pacific (A. F. of L. Seafarers International Union) and the individual cannery operators.

The youngsters of San Pedro supplied the needed labor force for the first cannery, established in 1893. Many a prominent harbor area citizen today enjoys reminiscing about how he used to go to school with a fish-knife in his pocket, prepared to climb out of a window at the sound of the cannery whistle which signaled the arrival of fish.

When sardines were unloaded in that early cannery they were cut and dressed by hand, and then packed in cans which were cut out of flat tin sheets and soldered together, also by hand.

Demand for the early product was small, and practically all brands of canned sardines carried French-type names, primarily on the assumption that this was the demand of the American consumer.

With the growth of the industry, through the concentrated efforts of fishermen, cannery workers and cannery operators, demand for the Southern California product also increased. New sauces were added, new packs

were introduced and the canning of tuna grew in importance. As time passed, the industry became known throughout the nation as the major source of canned fish from the West Coast.

By the early 1930s the industry was well established in Southern California. However, the ills which then plagued workers in all industries were also common in the fish canneries.

On September 6, 1933, local cannery workers succeeded in their initial union ambitions when the American Federation of Labor granted a federal charter to the Cannery Workers Union, Local 18656.

**T**HE problem, then, entailed unionization of the entire industry at one time, rather than piecemeal. Fish cannery workers in 1933, as in 1953, held a steady job with one plant but also sought employment in other plants when fish was not available at their regular place of work. If one cannery's wage scales or conditions of work varied from another's for the same work, these inequities would militate against the union, it was reasoned.

If a condition of this kind were allowed to exist, it wouldn't be too long before the operators of unionized canneries would be forced to close or else operate at the same level as their substandard or open-shop competitors. Complete unionization of the industry was imperative.

The first blanket industry contract was negotiated and signed in 1935. Six years later the Cannery Workers, through referendum action, affiliated with the A. F. of L.'s Seafarers International Union.

Today such brands of tuna fish as Chicken of the Sea, Starkist, etc., are known throughout the United States. These brands, like all Southern California packed fish, are processed by 100 per cent union labor. From the time the fish is caught by A. F. of L. fishermen to the time it's

shipped off to the grocery store, only union hands touch the fish.

From the time canned tuna was first introduced to the United States market, in the World War I period, to today, the Southern California industry has built up a consumer demand for an annual consumption rate of 9,000,000 cases. With the growth of this market also came a steady growth of cheap imports from foreign nations.

During the depression of the 1930s the situation became so acute that the domestic industry was actually on the verge of bankruptcy because of competition from these imports. To preclude this eventuality Congress levied a 45 per cent *ad valorem* tariff duty on canned tuna. This tariff remained in effect until 1943, when it was lowered to 22½ per cent in order to encourage friendly nations to supplement the U.S. food supply during the war period.

After the war ended, foreign nations began to increase their shipments of cheap tuna, both frozen and canned, into the United States. The Southern California industry is seriously threatened. Imports undersell the home product by virtue of the substandard labor conditions in foreign tuna-producing countries.

Three years ago the tariff rate on canned tuna was put back to 45 per cent to curb the ever-increasing flow of cheap canned tuna into the United States. However, through a loophole in the law, tuna canned in oil was the only product subject to this rate. Frozen tuna still enters the country duty-free, while tuna canned in water, or brine, enters under a 12½ per cent duty.

Attempts by the Cannery Workers Union to curb this unending flow, through the imposition of a higher tariff rate on brine-packed tuna, failed when the U.S. Senate in May of last year defeated a House-approved measure raising the duty to 45 per cent.



Meanwhile, imports of frozen tuna continued to soar, resulting in unemployment for many thousands of A. F. of L. cannery workers and fishermen in Southern California.

Through cheap labor and substandard working conditions, such nations as Japan and Peru are able to undersell the Southern California product and seriously jeopardize the entire home industry.

Where American union fishermen receive \$300 per ton for raw tuna, Japanese fishermen receive about \$40. Where American union-organized tuna cannery workers receive an average hourly wage of \$1.75, Japanese cannery workers receive about eight cents an hour.

Union officials and industry leaders believe the Southern California canneries will continue to suffer serious financial reverses, with increasing un-

employment among cannery workers and fishermen, unless proper protective legislative action is afforded the industry.

Today a union is more than just an organization that bargains with management for higher wages and better working conditions for its membership. The tuna tariff fight is just one aspect of the continuing battle being waged by the Cannery Workers Union for the protection of its membership against the possible destruction of a wage scale and working conditions which have taken twenty years to build.

From that day in 1933 when the Cannery Workers Union was first organized to the present, the union has been a leader in the struggle for betterment of working conditions for the industry's workers. Today that leadership is unchallenged.

It has taken almost two decades of hard work and continued effort to achieve this status. During this time members and officials were confronted with innumerable problems and hardships. The future undoubtedly holds many new ones in store.

As we approach the inevitable struggle foreshadowed by anti-labor laws, the Cannery Workers Union finds itself in an excellent position. A unified and cohesive organization has been established as a result of historic development and enlightened leadership.

Only through an undaunted belief in trade unionism was the fish cannery worker able to elevate himself to his present position. Similarly, only through continued active participation in the conduct of his organization will he reap any future gains.

## The Hosiery Workers and Education

By **ANDREW J. BENNETT**

*Director of Education and Research,  
American Federation of Hosiery Workers*

**T**HE educational program of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers is closely allied to the union's research activities.

One of the important educational jobs of the Hosiery Workers is the dissemination of material developed by research to staff and local personnel. An annual survey of machinery in the industry is analyzed and distributed for the benefit of the union's organizers. Learner regulations are summarized and sent to all local branches and to representatives.

The social security program of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers includes a pension plan, life insurance, and health and accident insurance. Every effort has been made to provide information on all of these so that members will be aware of their rights and benefits.

Another aspect of the Federation's educational program has been the effort to develop group activity on the local level. Acting on the instructions of the union's fortieth annual convention, the educational department has endeavored to promote continuous activity within the local branches. The department has en-

couraged each branch to set up educational committees and to explore its educational needs. Once the desires of the local group are made known, the national office attempts to provide discussion leaders or lecturers from the area, if qualified people are available, or to have a representative of the Federation lead the program.

The hub of this program is the district council. Five such councils exist—North Jersey District Council, Pennsylvania District Council, Midwest District Council, Upper South District Council and Deep South District Council. Pilot programs are scheduled for these councils with the subject matter chosen according to its desirability as a stimulant to interest in further programs on a branch level. It is hoped also that the district council programs (usually one-day affairs) will show results themselves in leadership training for those attending.

The most recent program was that of the Deep South District Council held in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The subject, "Public Speaking," was general enough to permit discussion of

the pressing problems of the union and the council and of how educational activity might ease these problems.

A group of about fifty representatives of hosiery workers in Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi took part, and before the program concluded, almost all had taken turns as speakers.

The educational department of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers is also engaged in a campaign to combat slump conditions which have plagued hosiery workers in recent years. The Federation has stepped up its union label hosiery campaign and a full-scale drive to promote union label hosiery is being launched by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The educational department of the Hosiery Workers is joining in this drive to secure a large share of Mother's Day sales for hosiery manufacturers whose products bear the union label.

The success of this effort will depend upon the education of union workers and their families in the meaning of the union label and convincing them that they should ask for union label stockings by name.

# Let's Use Our Purchasing Power

By JACK GOLDBERGER, *President, San Francisco Labor Council*

**T**HE working people have it within their constitutional power to help one another by joining a union. They know better than ever before that "in union there is strength." Labor has no weapons in its possession which are more powerful than its freedom to join a union and its freedom to buy where it pleases. The only problem is to make the workers enthusiastic in using these weapons in the highest degree.

Billions of dollars' worth of goods are bought annually by the members of organized labor. If this buying were directed to those establishments which manufacture or trade under union conditions, the force so gathered would soon soften the hearts of the most calloused anti-union employers.

All employers look kindly upon their market, and there isn't a single coherent group in the United States that offers as extensive a market as does organized labor.

If union workers would patronize

only union shops, buy only goods which bear the union label, a tremendous force in favor of trade unionism would soon spring up.

In connection with union-label buying, the ladies of the family are a very important factor. Recently a large advertising concern stated that 85 per cent of all the purchases for an average home are made by the lady of the house. This is surely true of the worker's wife. It is time for all members of organized labor to enroll the women in the cause of union-made goods and union services. Not only the wives but all the friends of trade unionists should be educated and encouraged to buy the products of union firms.

The union label is the greatest assurance of quality and the best insurance for labor unions. If the pressure of union-label buying power were exerted to its fullest extent, organization of non-union firms would become far easier. The trouble is that we want the other fellow to do it, and

too many of us feel that if we have paid our dues we have done enough.

Most important from a labor union standpoint, there is no better way to show your loyalty to your brother unionists than to demand the union label, union shop card and union working button. Union-label buying is the best way to obtain the full benefits of trade unionism. It is the best insurance for a powerful and lasting American trade union movement.

The great reforms which the American Federation of Labor advocates can be more easily accomplished by greater organization combined with increased union-label buying.

Collective bargaining and "collective buying" are the only methods yet discovered to raise wages, shorten hours and better the conditions of working people.

In just the degree that working people and their friends buy under the union label, shop card and service button can they obtain life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

## How Workers Are Treated in Africa

**A** MEMBER of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, which is part of the Seafarers International Union, A. F. of L., has written a letter reporting shameful labor conditions which he has observed in many parts of Africa. The author of the letter is Roy Garrison, a union seafarer for almost two decades and before that a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

"The deep need of organized labor in West Africa and all other parts of Africa," he writes, "is not only one of aiding suffering humanity but to aid in combating the fast-spreading, vicious and misleading deceptions of communism resulting from such deep evils against labor."

Brother Garrison reports that in Liberia stevedores receive from 45 to 65 cents a day "and often work sixteen hours per day without overtime."

"They have to sleep outside like cattle and are only given rice for

food," the writer adds. "They tell me that they tried to organize a union, but their leader was badly beaten and later shot at in an attempt to kill him."

Conditions are reported even worse in Portuguese West Africa.

"They have slave labor for dock work," writes Brother Garrison, "which slave labor gets no wages whatever. They are forced to come in from their jungle and semi-jungle habitats and work for nothing and under very miserable conditions and with but a rag for clothes and just enough food to sustain them."

"I have seen them kicked and have rocks thrown at them by their Portuguese bosses. Fellows on the ship who have made previous trips to this section of Africa say that they have seen these native slaves beaten by their bosses and knocked down."

Brother Garrison reports that in the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial

Africa and the Gold Coast "the conditions of workmen are terrible and unhuman, the people often not getting even the meager necessities of life."

Brother Garrison has been in more than sixty countries, he writes, adding:

"From what I have seen and heard, I can readily understand the New York Times news item stating that there is an African underground organization of 30,000,000 natives."

The winning of independence by India, Indonesia and other countries in recent years "accentuates and irritates the African situation," says the letter. Denial of "human conditions" to the people in various African countries, Brother Garrison warns, raises "the vicious specter of communism getting in."

If the workers were able to organize effective trade unions, the situation would improve greatly, the A. F. of L. seaman is convinced.



## From Other Labor Publications

### Attending Meetings

From Commercial Telegraphers' Journal

Whether the union will be strong and effective or impotent and ineffective, whether its policies will be clear-cut, constructive and progressive or confused and vacillating will be determined by what goes on at the union's meetings, the matters discussed, decisions made. Anything that so vitally affects the interests of the individual member certainly should be sufficient to warrant his attendance at union meetings whenever humanly possible. We all know, however, that failure of members to attend meetings is a condition that is usually present in labor unions. It is a condition, generally accepted by the officers and members, for which there does not appear to be any solution.

Some unions provide penalties for non-attendance at union meetings, such as fines, but no union has ever found a satisfactory substitute for a genuine desire on the part of union members to attend union meetings willingly and enthusiastically.

It has been said that management is more interested in the number of members who attend union meetings and what goes on at union meetings than the members themselves. Management, of course, is particularly interested in whether or not the union has the active support of a majority of the members. Management is keenly interested in whether or not the policies of the union are being determined by a majority of the members who are genuinely concerned with the welfare of the union, or by disgruntled minorities with whom most unions are afflicted and to whom the welfare of the union is secondary. In short, the employer wants to know whether he is going to deal with a responsible union or an irresponsible union.

If the policies of the union are being determined by a majority of the members, the elected officers are likely to be the type who welcome direction based on policies that are realistic, sound and progressive.

Democratic control and direction of union policies constitute the basic strength

of the union, its effectiveness, its future welfare. That desirable condition can prevail only if union meetings are well attended by the members and they take an active part in the proceedings. The more members who attend union meetings the more democratic the meetings will be and the more carefully considered will be the policies adopted and the direction given the duly elected officers. Rates of pay, hours of work and the conditions under which the members will perform their duties, as well as the administration of the union's affairs, are determined at the meetings. Surely these things mean enough to the individual member to warrant his personal attention.

### Expansion of the West

From The Washington Teamster

There is every reason to believe that 1953 will be a very good year for working people. That means plenty of jobs and an increasing demand for workers. The expansion is not purely the result of defense activity. There has been a tremendous move of big industry to the West Coast in the last five years, and it will continue. Scores of large manufacturing plants are being erected, many more are planned.

General President Dave Beck has been emphasizing the inevitable industrial expansion of the West in his public addresses for several years. What he has been predicting is coming to pass.

The West is growing industrially because of the great population surge to this coast, a movement given additional impetus during the war. The huge population gains and the agricultural development of backward areas have built a great market in the Western states—a market for the things which industry makes. That is why industry is moving West, for industry follows population.

The climate both for working people and for labor is favorable on the Pacific Coast. The big job of organizing has been done effectively. Unions are recognized and accepted. There are some bad spots, of course, but they will be healed as time goes on.

Lacking the old evils and hatreds and without the danger of Communistic infiltration in our Western unions, there is good

reason to expect many years of progress, peace and expansion here on the Pacific Coast.

### Hitler and Stalin

From The Seafarers' Log

Adolf Hitler may be dead, but his old buddy-buddy, "Papa" Joe Stalin, is doing a real job of keeping his plan for enslaving the human race very much alive. This union, like others who have had to stay alert to threats to democracy and have fought Hitler and the Commies, has always said that a dictator is a dictator—that a Commie and a Nazi are virtually the same. Dump the pretty-sounding phrases and they are all the same. They all use identical tactics to stay in power.

The newest rage in the Communist countries is a series of purges—against the Jews this time. The latest Moscow word—which had shown up in the Communist satellites earlier—is that the "bourgeois Jewish internationalists," and "professional Zionists," and "cosmopolitan Jews," are responsible for "plots" against the Soviet leaders. Many have said this latest purge, which is just a continuation of Hitler's work with a different name, has been started to court favor with the oil-controlling Arab nations. Others say that the Jews are being purged to gain favor with the former Nazi populations in Europe.

There's one other answer, though, and that is within the very nature of Joe Stalin's setup. Any dictatorship, which suppresses freedom of thought and just about every other freedom, has one basic weakness, the population itself. To keep the people in line, the government has to manufacture troubles and give the people scapegoats—a group to hate. This way, the hate for the government can be transferred to the helpless group. "Papa" Joe has a long list of purges to his "credit," just as Hitler did. At the beginning, the intellectuals were killed off. Then came the songwriters and authors who didn't exactly suit "Papa" Joe's fancy. Now, it's the Jews. Tomorrow it may be the guys with wavy hair or the left-handed ball players.

We have said before and continue to say that a dictator is a dictator, and they all play the same dirty game. The Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 should have taught us that.



# LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 398 of the Teamsters and Local 832 of the Operating Engineers have obtained wage increases from firms of the Aggregates and Excavators Association, Rochester, N. Y. In addition, Local 398 members will receive about \$15,000 as a settlement in lieu of back pay.

►Local 507, Chemical Workers, has achieved several gains at the Oyster Shell Products Corporation, Morgan City, La. Among the benefits are an 8-cent-an-hour wage increase and hospital and surgical medical insurance to be paid by the company.

►The Sheet Metal Workers at Phoenix, Ariz., have signed a new two-year contract with the Air Conditioning and Sheet Metal Contractors Association. A wage increase of 55 cents an hour during the life of the contract is provided.

►A welfare fund has been won by the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union in an accord with members of the Associated General Contractors of Missouri. The headquarters for the fund is located in Jefferson City.

►Local 42 of the Office Employees has obtained wage increases that will average \$22 a month for members employed at the Kropp Forge ordnance plant, Melvindale, Mich. The raise is retroactive to March.

►Local 69 of the Upholsterers, Rochester, N. Y., has signed new agreements with firms in that city. The new pacts bring wage increases to 100 union members.

►The Boilermakers won an NLRB election held recently at the Consolidated Western Steel Corporation, Orange, Tex. The C.I.O. Steel Workers were the losers, 673 to 335.

►Local 241, Roofers, has won a 12½-cent hourly wage increase in West Texas. The increase is retroactive to December 15.

►Local 25, Building Service Employees, has signed a pact with the Building Managers Association, Chicago, providing a 44-hour week for men, effective next April, and a 40-hour week effective January 1, 1954. Women members of the local will go on the five-day week April 1. A pay increase was also won.

►In a first agreement between the United Textile Workers and the Irving Air Chute Company for its Lexington, Ky., plant, the workers won a union shop and an hourly wage increase. The contract also provides an insurance package and a generous vacation plan for the Lexington workers.

►Local 587 of the Meat Cutters, Santa Monica, Calif., has secured an increase of \$3.75 a week, retroactive to last November. Other benefits include eight paid holidays, one week sick leave and a health and welfare plan.

►Local 2 of the Bricklayers Union, San Antonio, Texas, has negotiated a new contract calling for a pay raise from \$3 to \$3.15 an hour.

►Local 152, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has won a new contract with the International Stamping Company, Hartford, Wis. The agreement includes a wage boost, union shop, dues check-off, paid holidays and an improved health, accident and life insurance policy.

►Twenty-five thousand longshoremen in the Port of New York have been awarded a wage increase of 17 cents an hour, retroactive to October 1, in a binding arbitration decision by Professor Paul R. Hays of Columbia Law School. The decision has been criticized by employer spokesmen.

►Local 1711, Carpenters, has signed new contracts with the four principal Venetian blind factories of San Diego, Calif. A health and welfare plan for employees of the four factories has been approved by the Wage Stabilization Board.

►Local 753, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, and the Cuno Engineering Corporation, Meriden, Conn., have agreed on a series of gains for the union, including a seventh paid holiday.



**Ray Leheney (right), Union Label Department secretary, is busy installing new local Label Council charters around the country**

✶The Pulp and Paper Workers have scored victories in NLRB elections in Arkansas. Local 559, at the Chase Bag Company in Crossett, defeated the C.I.O. In a decertification election at Dixie Cup Company in Fort Smith, the employees voted to retain the Pulp and Paper Workers, Local 656, as bargaining agent.

✶The Masters, Mates and Pilots have won wage increases of 14½ per cent for Atlantic and Gulf Coast ship officers. The agreement also provides extra compensation for masters who do not stand watch and mates and relief officers. Overtime and penalty rates are set in the pact.

✶Local 148, American Federation of Technical Engineers, New Orleans, has won an increase of 15 cents an hour for Henry J. Kaiser employees. Fringe benefits, including a seniority clause, are also provided in the new one-year contract.

✶Local 234, Operating Engineers, has won a 15-cent hourly boost in negotiations with the Highway and Heavy Construction Contractors of Iowa. The increase affects workers in ninety-eight Iowa counties and is retroactive to October 15, 1952.

✶The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists has won substantial wage increases, improved severance and vacation provisions and other fringe benefits in negotiations with five major Chicago radio and TV stations.

✶The Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers have won a general wage increase, shift differentials and improved overtime provisions in negotiations with twelve companies in Ontario and Manitoba, Canada.

✶Lodge 1021 of the Machinists has secured a new employer-paid pension plan in negotiations with the New Britain Machine Company, New Britain, Conn.

✶Local 1290, Linoleum Layers, Oakland, Calif., has won a health and welfare plan. The plan is worth 7½ cents an hour to the workers.

✶Local 461 of the Brotherhood of Teamsters has signed up eight new service stations in Seattle, Wash.



*Carpenters Union representatives are happy at signing of the first contract with Shearman Furniture at Jamestown, N. Y.*

✶Local 1 of the Grain Millers has obtained an increase ranging from 7½ to 16½ cents an hour and affecting about 1,600 members in negotiations with the flour mills of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.

✶Members of Local 1212 of the Bus Drivers, Chattanooga, Tenn., who have driven five accident-free years recently received safety emblems in recognition of their achievements.

✶District 8 of the Machinists has won a wage increase and a retirement plan at the Clearing Machine Corporation of Chicago. Twelve hundred employees, including 250 workers at the firm's Hamilton, Ohio, plant, will be affected by the new pact.

✶Local 496 of the Chemical Workers Union has triumphed in an NLRB election held at the Grant Plastic Pulley Company, New York City.



*James C. Quinn (left) and Moe Rosen (right), both of New York Central Trades, discuss plans with a Red Cross representative*



*When Denver Building Trades Council staged frolic attended by thousands, these lassies danced and also acted as usherettes*

►Local 238, Teamsters, has signed a contract with the Sanitary Farm Dairies at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. This is the first union contract to be signed by a Cedar Rapids dairy and an A. F. of L. local. The agreement brings the employees substantial wage increases and other gains, including a liberalization of vacation allowances and hospitalization insurance.

►All members of Local 280, Bakery Workers, who are employed in Evansville, Princeton and Vincennes, Ind., have secured a general wage increase of 10 cents an hour, retroactive to last June, under terms of compensation adjustments.

►An arts and handicrafts exhibit sponsored by labor unions and the New York Public Library will be held at the Library from April 15 to May 2. A joint committee is now busy on the arrangements.

►Local 112, Firemen and Oilers, has won wage increases, vacation and holiday improvements and a health insurance program at Bradford Hospital, Smethport, Pa.

►Local 369 of the Electrical Workers has won an election at the duPont plant located at Charlestown, Ind.

►The arbitration agreement between the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Printing Pressmen's Union has been renewed for five years.

►A wage increase of 10 cents an hour has been won by Local 260, Chemical Workers, at the North American Chemical Company, Cambridge, Mass.

►The Montana State Federation of Labor has established a \$600 annual James D. Graham Scholarship in memory of its late president. The scholarship, which may be used in any Montana institution of higher learning, will be awarded on the basis of an examination designed to show the student's knowledge of the history and methods of the American labor movement, the part it plays in our society and how it affects the national economy.

►Max J. Osslo of San Diego, business manager of Local 229 of the Butcher Workmen, has been reelected as president of the Federation of Butchers of California. The convention, held in San Francisco, was attended by 125 delegates representing 30,000 California members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

►Local 65 of the Chemical Workers has been successful in obtaining a general increase in wages in its new contract with the Hungerford Plastics Corporation, Rockaway, N. J. The agreement also provides for a hospitalization plan with premiums paid by the company.

►Courses on subjects of interest to trade unionists have been scheduled by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois for Decatur, Kankakee, Quincy, Granite City and Chester.

## Force Ouvrière Forges Ahead

*(Continued from Page 15)*

ing broken with the Communist-dominated C.G.T. and created a free trade union center, the Force Ouvrière recognizes the necessity of bringing about a realignment of the free trade unions and also of the much greater number of French workers who are no longer organized.

By a very large majority of votes a resolution was adopted which declared that "through contacts existing between the free trade union organizations an effective coordination and cooperation should be established at once on all levels where that is immediately possible and joint committees for the study and discussion of all problems relating to trade union activities should be established."

This resolution shows once more

that the Force Ouvrière is prepared to participate in a trade union realignment without any designs for hegemony. On the other hand, a resolution in favor of unity of action with the Stalinist C.G.T. was defeated by a very large majority.

The recent Paris convention of the Force Ouvrière has shown that the French free trade union movement is dynamic, militant and rich in ideas and in capable men and women. Undoubtedly, the Force Ouvrière has great possibilities and seems to be best fitted to rebuild a strong and free C.G.T.

However, in order to attain this goal, the Force Ouvrière needs the aid and support of the international free trade union movement.



## The A. F. of L. in New Jersey

(Continued from Page 13)

Union and editor of the New Jersey *Labor Herald*. Brother Herrmann was certainly a tower of strength to us in fighting for pro-labor legislative approval in the party caucus and also in raising an effective voice against measures which would harm labor. Brother Herrmann was not a candidate for reelection in 1951 and hence was not in the Legislature in 1952.

In my message to our convention last year, I made the observation:

"The presence of Brother Herrmann in the Legislature was sorely missed during the year. We no longer have a sincere, loyal, intelligent, all-out fighter inside the Republican caucus to carry the battle for us. The difference in the attitude of the Legislature this year, as compared with the years Brother Herrmann was a member, was very apparent."

I am glad to say that right now one of the Democratic Assemblymen is Brother Maurice V. Brady of the Printing Pressmen's Union and long the secretary of the Hudson County Central Labor Union. He is fully cooperative, just as was an immediate predecessor of his, Brother Jacob Friedland of the Office Employees Union, a well-known labor attorney.

In recent years we also had other labor representatives in the Assembly. I recall Brother William Curry of the Bricklayers Union, who was an Essex County representative, and also two other former Essex Assemblymen, Brother Leo P. Carlin of the Teamsters, who is now a member of the Newark City Commission serving as Director of Public Works, and Brother Percy Miller, of the Typographical Union, who served as the Speaker of the Assembly and who is now the State Commissioner of Labor and Industry. Another recent labor representative was Brother William Setzer, of the Carpenters, who was an Assemblyman from Camden County.

In recent years, we also had two well-known labor leaders serve in the State Senate. I refer to Brother Harold Pierson of the Morris County Building Trades and Brother Arthur A. Quinn of the Carpenters, who represented Middlesex County and who also served for a period of years

as president of our State Federation. Brother Quinn has given many years to the upbuilding of the trade union movement.

We recognized that, in order to bring home to the local unions the importance of our legislative work and all other activities of the Federation, publicity was essential. Furthermore, the development of a sound public relations policy also was necessary to build for better public acceptance of the labor movement. Accordingly, we established a Public Relations Department. As director of the Department, we selected Abraham Silverstein, a newspaperman of long experience and formerly a volunteer worker for the State Federation of Labor in the same field.

How well this activity has proceeded may best be summarized by quoting from the 1952 annual report of Secretary-Treasurer Murphy to the delegates at our state convention. He declared:

"I am glad to report to you that our Public Relations Department is continually expanding in usefulness and accomplishment. The state A. F. of L. activities are receiving an ever-widening measure of recognition from the general and labor press. Many local unions and other affiliated bodies have utilized the services of this department and have sincerely praised the cooperation which they received willingly and cheerfully.

"The state A. F. of L. views are quoted on the leading questions of the day and our participation is sought in worthy civic, welfare and educational projects and in lecture forums, high school and college assemblies, various institutes as well as speeches before religious bodies and service clubs.

"Our Public Relations Director, Abraham Silverstein, has conducted and promoted these manifold activities with energy and ability and with a broad general perspective about the purpose of public relations, which has reflected itself most creditably upon the Federation. I am confident that as the Federation continues to grow stronger, so will it continue to gain in its friendly and respected relations with the public and labor press and it also will be in a still better position to extend its public relations services to its affiliates."

I cannot leave the subject of public relations without pointing out that State Federation of Labor releases, statements, etc., generally are carried by the daily press from one end of the state to the other, by the wire services and a number of the more important weeklies.

The labor press also, of course, has been most cooperative, and we are very grateful to our fine labor publications.

We keep a clipping file which now numbers thousands of clippings.

In line with public relations, State A. F. of L. representation is sought on drive committees for various



**Officers and Executive Board members. The state's two largest districts have two vice-presidents each. Others have one each**

worthy causes—Community Chest and Welfare Federations, the Red Cross, New Jersey Welfare Council, Committee of Adult and Industrial Health of the State Department of Health, Histadrut and numerous other organizations. We make it a policy to be selective in these matters, realizing that the ultimate object is to reach the A. F. of L. members and seek their cooperation. However, we also realize that in this new era labor cannot concern itself solely with its own problems, but must be prepared to participate in the expanding social, civic and welfare life of our state and nation.

By the same token, we realize that a State Federation of Labor, with a limited salaried staff, must necessarily give its everyday attention to the A. F. of L. activities and problems that arise. I have already emphasized our legislative endeavor.

**N**O LESS important—and to a certain extent directly linked with it—is our political action.

We have emphasized the need for unified political activity on the state and national levels, in keeping, of course, with the objectives of Labor's League for Political Education. We have a functioning state L.L.P.E. organization. Officers and district vice-presidents of the State Federation of Labor hold similar offices in the L.L.P.E. organization. There are also county organizations in most of the counties of our state.

In making political endorsements, we have repeatedly stressed that, wherever possible, we should go by the record of a candidate. This is especially true where the candidate has held or is holding public office or is seeking a return to public life.

We regard this test as especially significant where candidates for the State Legislature or Congress are concerned, because their attitudes and their votes on labor legislation are of primary importance.

During the recent Presidential and Congressional campaigns, Secretary Murphy had breakdowns prepared, with valuable assistance given us by the national L.L.P.E., of the voting records of the Representatives from New Jersey and the incumbent U.S. Senator who also was seeking reelection. These breakdowns touched upon the votes of the incumbents on



**A General Executive Council group. Members of the Council come from unions that have most of their locals in State Federation**

major matters of domestic and foreign policy. In the main, they were matters on which the American Federation of Labor nationally and in our state had taken some definite stand.

We furnished these voting breakdowns to the L.L.P.E. units in the respective Congressional districts, and where the Senator was concerned, of course, his record went to L.L.P.E. groups in the entire state. When the time came for endorsements, the county L.L.P.E. units had a pretty good idea of the voting records of the incumbents. The views and pledges of the opposing candidates were obtained. Thus, the county units were in a good position to arrive at their decisions as to whom to support.

In the same manner, the state League, after hearing the recommendations of the county groups and after considering the records, experience, pledges, etc., was also in a position to make deserved recommendation where this was merited, or else refrain from outright endorsement or, if necessary, express opposition.

I should like to point out that among those whom we endorsed were seven incumbent Representatives, five of them Democrats and two Republicans, all of whom were reelected. That labor support in New Jersey really meant something was quite evident from the returns. Some of the Democrats polled a heavy vote despite the huge majority given to President Eisenhower in New Jersey. While three other Congressional candidates

whom we endorsed were not successful, nevertheless the final tally showed that they profited from labor's support and activity in their behalf.

We are preparing to follow similar procedure in connection with the state legislative elections to be held in New Jersey next November. There is a real job to be done. We shall delve deeply into the voting records and labor attitude of incumbent candidates for the State Senate and Assembly and make our affiliated bodies aware of these records. We shall certainly seek definite affirmation and pledges on labor legislation from non-incumbents who are aspiring to either House.

There will also be a Gubernatorial election next fall. Here, too, we shall have to be on the alert, and here, too, we shall go by the record.

We are making it a practice to devote as much effort as possible to the gradual development of a State Federation of Labor educational program. One of our major educational considerations over the years has been an annual Labor Institute. Again I point with pride to the fact that we were a pioneer in the establishment of these institutes when the Workers Education Bureau of the A. F. of L. first began to launch such projects.

Next July we shall hold our twenty-third annual A. F. of L. institute on the campus of Rutgers University in New Brunswick. The planning of these institutes is carried on by a Joint Institute Committee headed by Brother Murphy. State Federation repre-

representatives and people from the Rutgers University Institute of Labor and Management and the Workers Education Bureau serve on the committee.

While this institute is the major event for us, the State Federation of Labor cooperates with the Rutgers Institute of Labor and Management—an integral part of Rutgers University, the state university—in formulating and carrying on various symposia, one-day institutes and other types of discussions throughout the state.

We work in a cordial and cooperative manner with the director of the Rutgers Institute, Professor Irvine L. H. Kerrison—who is, by the way, active in the American Federation of Teachers—and his able research staff. Right now this staff is performing the bulk of the task of gathering historical data about the A. F. of L. in New Jersey, preparatory to our publication of a history next fall in connection with our diamond jubilee.

We also have our own Education Committee, presently headed by Joseph DiLonardo of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which seeks to coordinate educational endeavor among our affiliated bodies, arranges for representation at educational conferences and serves as a clearing house for labor's educational activities in New Jersey.

Naturally, all this is voluntary activity and as such marks a start which we hope will have a wider effectiveness as time goes on.

The New Jersey State Federation of Labor has both an Executive Board and a General Executive Council. The Executive Board has been a part of the Federation for many years, but the Council was created a little more than two years ago through constitutional amendment.

The Executive Board is comprised of the president, the secretary-treasurer and the three vice-presidents who are, respectively, Michael F. Condron of Verona, William Carter of Summit and Mrs. Sadie Reisch of Newark. The Board also consists of ten district vice-presidents. The state has been divided into eight districts. Six of these districts have one vice-president each and the two largest districts have two vice-presidents each. They are as follows: *First District*, Winfield S. Chasmar of Jersey City and Frank Truatt of Westwood; *Second District*, William F. Purcell and Thomas Vin-

cent Green, both of Newark; *Third District*, Irving Kaplan of Paterson; *Fourth District*, Sherman G. Kisner of Union; *Fifth District*, Peter Pulone of Trenton; *Sixth District*, Mrs. Olga Moranski of Perth Amboy; *Seventh District*, Charles Mims of Camden; *Eighth District*, Melvin Mohr of Millville. The president, secretary-treasurer and the three statewide vice-presidents are elected for two-year terms. The district vice-presidents are elected at our conventions for one-year terms. The Executive Board picks a general counsel and a legislative counsel.

In contrast to the Executive Board, the General Executive Council consists of representatives of various crafts. The Council members are selected by their respective crafts. The basic idea in establishing the Council was to give the various crafts a greater voice in determining administrative policies of the State Federation of Labor. Those crafts which have at least a majority of their local unions in the State Federation thus have a direct say in the government and administration of our state body.

Our General Executive Council presently consists of the following: *Bakery Workers*, William E. Doebler, Newark; *Barbers*, Joseph Pelligra, East Orange; *Bookbinders*, Wesley A. Taylor, East Orange; *Bricklayers*, Joseph Hagen, Newark; *Brick and Clay Workers*, Carmine Santo, Perth Amboy; *Bridge and Structural Iron Workers*, James Lowe, Newark; *Carpenters*, Frank Dangler, Neptune; *Chemical Workers*, Stephen Mangella, Newark; *Electrical Workers*, Harry Dove, Hasbrouck Heights; *Engineers (Operating)*, John J. Giblin, Newark; *Firemen and Oilers*, John Flanagan, Newark; *Garment Workers (United)*, Mrs. Marie Mooney, Trenton; *Garment Workers (Ladies')*, Barnett Karp, Camden; *Glass Bottle Blowers*, Ellis Simpkins, Millville; *Hatters*,

Michael Liloia, Newark; *Hotel and Restaurant Employes*, Hyman B. Doppelt, Newark; *Hod Carriers and Laborers*, Norman Lawrence, Neptune; *Insurance Agents*, Richard E. Drake, Morristown; *Jewelry Workers*, Kenneth Bodine, Stockton; *Lathers*, Patrick Mullane, Jersey City; *Laundry Workers*, Abe Solomon, Jersey City; *Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen*, Leon B. Schachter, Camden; *Sheet Metal Workers*, Edward Short, Belleville; *Musicians*, Don Ritchie, Jersey City; *Office Employes*, Harriet Pitman, Newark; *Painters*, Harry E. Brennan, District Council, West Englewood; *Plasterers*, Dominick Gemma, Jersey City; *Plumbers*, Patrick H. Doyle, New Brunswick; *Polishers (Metal)*, Edward Scheuermann, Newark; *Printing Pressmen*, Maurice Brady, Jersey City; *Street Railway Employes*, Otto Hauser, Seabright; *Retail Clerks*, Paul LaFayette, Old Bridge; *Stagehands and Moving Picture Machine Operators*, Ralph DeMea, North Bergen; *Stereotypers*, Leo J. Feeney, East Orange; *Teachers*, R. Joseph Bruder, Newark; *Typographical*, Charles C. Testerman, Haddonfield; *Wire Weavers*, Willis W. Davis, Belleville, and *Building Service Employes*, Clyde Jones, Newark.

I know that my fellow officers agree with me when I say that we have been singularly fortunate to have such an outstanding administrative official as Brother Murphy. A respected state leader in his own craft, the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, Brother Murphy has held the post of State Federation of Labor secretary-treasurer for nearly a score of years. A tireless worker, thoroughly devoted to his job, this sincere trade unionist has indeed been an asset to us.

Furthermore, as a former city commissioner of Newark for twelve years, eight of which he served as mayor—he was Newark's World War II mayor



### Give to the Heart Drive, George Meany Urges

President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor urges all members of organized labor to contribute to the annual campaign of the American Heart Association. Heart disease takes a terrible toll of lives. Through research it is hoped to discover how to reduce this toll. Your contribution helps finance this vital research work. The drive of the Heart Association deserves your generous support.



## 40 Years Ago in the FEDERATIONIST

UNTIL recently the labor press was insignificant in size and did not reach outside the workers' circle. But as the organizations of workers have grown in numbers and strength, so their means of self-expression have increased, until now organized workmen are influential members of society, and as other toilers unite their individual forces, they, too, will be able to mold and educate public opinion to an appreciation of their needs and welfare.

THE free man's ownership of himself involves his labor power. In fact, the only difference between a free man and a slave is the right to sell or withhold his labor power. This precious right must be cherished and guarded against all invasions. When any workman or number of workmen are compelled by law to work one month, one week, one day or one hour against their own volition, then there has ensued and been established slavery.

THE workers are not bugs to be examined under the lenses of a microscope by the "intellectuals" on a sociological slumming tour. The men and women of labor are not only willing to be examined but will examine themselves and in turn reverse the

lens and examine the examiners at the other end.

IT IS good to know that the rights of children are being more generally recognized, but these remaining little victims to the canning of corn and beans should be protected. No higher or more far-reaching work awaits the actions of civilization and humanity.

ORGANIZED labor does advocate industrial peace and has done much to promote it. Organized labor wants conciliation and mediation—but of a voluntary character. Organizations of workers, strong and able to formulate demands and make agreements, have done more to bring about effective mediation than any other instrumentality.

MANY a plain, unschooled toiler in the ranks has an understanding of industrial conditions and forces that makes him an authority in that field. Though their terms may not be as nicely discriminating as those of the more conventional "economist," yet they know the realities of economics, what is practicable and what is merely theoretical and speculative.

CULTURE does not consist wholly of book-learning but is an attitude of mind, alert and aware of tendencies, able and willing to discern the real from the false, the enduring from the ephemeral.

—Brother Murphy through his personal integrity and conscientious devotion to duty reflected most favorably on the A. F. of L. and particularly on the New Jersey Federation of Labor. The same may be said for the service he rendered as a member of the original State Unemployment Compensation Commission, as former president of the Union National Bank in Newark and in other public capacities.

Our assistant secretary-treasurer, in charge of our office staff and detail, is Miss Mary T. Markey, a personable young woman whose fine, dependable service over a period of years also is much appreciated. We have come to rely a great deal on Miss Markey, who, incidentally, is the daughter of a trade unionist, and we look forward

to her continued association with the State Federation of Labor.

In general, New Jersey women are playing an increasingly important role in the affairs of our Federation, and we certainly welcome their interest and endeavor. An increasing number of members of the fair sex come to our conventions as delegates. Our constitution now specifically provides that the third vice-president of the Federation must be a woman. This office is now held by Sister Sadie Reisch, a highly esteemed official of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, who has contributed much to its growth and recognition in the Newark area. Similarly, one of our district vice-presidents, Sister Olga Moranski of Perth Amboy, is an official of the United Garment

Workers and, like Sister Reisch, is conscientious and devoted in the performance of her State Federation duties.

And so it is that we have tried to portray through the written word some measure of New Jersey Federation activity at the present time.

Naturally, many important developments have transpired during our existence of nearly seventy-five years. A state body such as ours, carrying on through a period which runs parallel to the rise of the organized labor movement in the United States, surely can have much to review and recall.

In taking pride in the fact that we have been able to keep our State Federation of Labor in continuous existence for three-quarters of a century, we also cite the fact that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor were never strangers to us nor we to them. The relations have always been cordial, cooperative and mutually satisfactory. I have had the privilege of being the State Federation's delegate to the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor during my service as president of the New Jersey body, and that extends now over more than a score of years.

The A. F. of L.'s beloved founder, Samuel Gompers, and the late lamented President William Green spent many happy hours in New Jersey during their respective lifetimes.

Another pioneer of labor who honored our state by spending the declining years of his life in New Jersey was Peter J. McGuire. Only last summer, on the occasion of the centennial of his birth, the international which he helped found—the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners—erected a permanent memorial to him at the cemetery in South Jersey where his remains rest. The memorial was fittingly dedicated by the leaders of our great movement. New Jersey will always be the final home of Peter McGuire, the beloved trade unionist who was the father of Labor Day.

Recently one of New Jersey's own sons, William F. Schnitzler, was selected for the important post of secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. He sprang from the ranks of organized labor in our state to become the president of his own international, the Bakery and

Confectionery Workers, and then to advance to the position held with such great distinction and ability in recent years by George Meany, now the president of the A. F. of L. We certainly take pride in Bill Schnitzler's deserved elevation. We wish him good health, and we know that he will prove a credit to himself and the American Federation of Labor.

I cannot list all the men from New Jersey who have become leaders in their respective international unions or who have assumed other important positions on the labor scene. The list is a very long one. We take justifiable pride in the caliber of so many of the trade unionists produced in our state over the years.

The New Jersey Federation approaches its diamond jubilee with a humble/awareness of its honorable history and with a sense of responsibility that comes from the knowledge that it is continually gaining strength in our state.

Industry in New Jersey is moving forward. We are in the heart of a great industrial region. As citizens and as workers, we realize how vital the success of the national defense program is to our national security and to the perpetuation of our democracy. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor, I am happy to state, is comprised of devoted citizens—good Americans who cherish the democratic way of life and who reject and will always resist the totalitarianism represented by communism, fascism and any other isms that would undermine our existence as free men.

A State Federation of Labor such as ours, which can show 256 new affiliates within little more than two years, certainly can say that it has the goodwill of its constituents and can face the future with confidence.

It is confidence in the fact that our program will win more adherents and that we shall come to our 1953 convention with a report that will insure a still more sizable increase. It is confidence in the fact that our leadership has come to be accepted as one based upon a straightforward approach and a desire to protect and advance the interests of those whom we represent.

If the rank and file in New Jersey continue to work with us, join with us and stand with us, as we confidently hope they will do, the Federation's future will indeed be bright.

## A Very Solid Organization

(Continued from Page 11)

Helpers International Union took an immediate interest in these unsafe, unhealthful conditions and introduced the first resolution in an American Federation of Labor convention calling for the enactment of health and sanitation laws by the states.

This crusade of the Polishers Union has met with marked success. Modern blowers and exhaust systems are now required by every state in factories where abrasive wheels and plating tanks are used. No longer must polishers and platers endanger their health to follow their trade. They now work in clean rooms and breathe decent, clear air. Life insurance is now as available to the polisher and plater as it is to the office worker.

Committees of our local unions are ever alert to detect the slightest infractions of health and safety codes. We will never permit any employer of our members to slip back so much as one step in the improvement of health and safety conditions.

This lifting of the polishers and platers from the most dangerous and unhealthy of working conditions to conditions as favorable as the nature of the work permits we consider our finest accomplishment.

The soundness of the American Federation of Labor's basic principles is exemplified in the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers.

While all workers engaged in polishing and plating enjoy to some extent the benefits of the health and safety codes pushed through state legislative bodies by our organization, none but members of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union enjoy the high wage rates which are in effect in the shops where our local unions have contracts.

In many instances metal polishers and platers working in so-called "captive shops" have found themselves locked in industrial organizations. In no instance do their wage rates compare to the earnings of the craftsmen who compose the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

Our earnings average anywhere from fifty cents to a dollar an hour more than those of the unfortunate polishers and platers who find them-

selves smothered in industrial unions. Many of these polishers and platers, working in large factories covered by industrial unions, continue their membership in the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

It is no secret that many large companies prefer the industrial form of organization because of the lower wages forced on the skilled craftsmen by the preponderant numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

We have no problem of communism because we have never permitted any Communist sympathizers to gain a foothold in any of our local unions. Those who espouse any cause but Americanism can find no place in our organization, and whether their expulsion or exclusion costs members is immaterial to us.

We seldom find ourselves subject to raids by other unions because our membership is tightly knit and our members are fully cognizant of the fact that no other union could possibly match the accomplishments of their own union. Our members realize that their union is not an enterprise separate and distinct from themselves. *They* are the union, and what is accomplished by the union is *their* own united accomplishment.

Our union is governed by an Executive Board, composed of the president and seven members, which conducts the business of the organization between conventions. Our international representatives and organizers are all journeymen metal polishers, buffers and platers who understand the problems and can speak the language of our members and their employers. These representatives are always ready to assist local unions in the solution of any of their problems.

Recently our organization purchased its own headquarters in Cincinnati, from where the affairs of our union are administered. We are extremely proud of our new headquarters, as it is an object long sought by our union and at last accomplished.

Ours is not a large union, but what we lack in size we make up in that strength which comes from the unity found only in unions composed of skilled craftsmen who enjoy their trade autonomy.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**President Eisenhower**—I think that we should take a new look at this economic world of ours. Let me



list some of the economic problems which the free world is called upon to solve. First, the problem of re-establishing the economies of Japan and West Germany must be recognized as a problem of the entire free world. Second, the free world must find a permanent solution to Europe's continuing inability to earn enough dollars. Third, a high percentage of the peoples of the free world are undernourished; hungry people do not think first of freedom and justice. Fourth, there are innumerable economic tensions, such as in the Middle East, which must be relieved if economic difficulty is not to be transformed into political catastrophe. The free nations must cooperate militarily for their common defense. They must engage in farsighted economic cooperation in order that peoples everywhere may, through their own efforts, improve their present desperately bad situations. And they must cooperate politically and socially to settle those disputes and relieve those tensions which otherwise might break into overt hostilities or cause free nations to surrender to the insidious promises of communism.

**Matthew Woll, president, Union Label Trades Department**—We appeal



to the workers of free Europe, we urge the free trade unions and democratic labor movements of Europe to take the lead in having their governments come to their senses, stop quibbling and intriguing, and go all-out in organizing their military forces and resources for the defense of freedom and peace. No people can remain free unless they

are able to defend their freedom against subversion from within or aggression from without. No people can remain at peace unless they are strong enough to halt and smash aggressors seeking to destroy the peace of the world. Today Communist Russia and its puppets and partners in infamy and savagery are the sole serious enemies of peace, liberty and everything that is decent and precious in human life. No nation does America a favor by strengthening and girding itself to fight for its own survival as a free people. We want equal partners in the fight for freedom and peace. We seek no satellites. Our country can only help those peoples who want to be free to remain free. We cannot force anybody or any nation to want to be free or to fight for its freedom. The will to be free, the determination to fight for this freedom must first be there.

**Harry E. O'Reilly, director of organization, A. F. of L.**—We in the



American Federation of Labor are in a better position to go before the workers of this country than we have ever been. We have an obligation in the American Federation of Labor, and that is to push our organization and educate our workers to the utmost. The trade union philosophy that we adhere and subscribe to is the program to which we pledge ourselves when we become officers—to support and further the interests of our members. We must make it possible for every wage-earner to have an opportunity to come in and join with us for the protection and the benefits that only an American Federation of Labor union can give him. Guard your organization zealously. Never hesitate on any occasion to tell those who may be within the hearing of your voice that you belong to the American Federation of Labor. Tell them what the Federation stands for and tell them why you

are a member of the American Federation of Labor. Let it be known to all that this is the organization that has stood the test of time. This is the organization that has been in the forefront throughout the generations in the interests of those who must toil for a living. This is the organization whose constitution, programs and policies have come down through the years and are found to be just as sound today as they were back in 1881 and at the turn of the century. Go into your neighborhood, your local unions or wherever you may be, and tell these things. Tell them proudly.

**Richard A. Estep, Illinois labor editor**—There always is much talk



when union folks get together about the difference between real union men and just card-carriers. So the question arises: "What is a union man?" A union man or woman is a person who firmly believes that the labor movement is necessary for the economic advancement of the worker, believes that collective bargaining is the only democratic method of bargaining with management and believes that a union contract makes both parties responsible for carrying out the contract's provisions. And it goes even further. A good union man wants others to share the economic benefits he has been able to win through united action. Hence he is always ready to aid other working people in their attempts to organize into unions of their choosing. The card man, on the other hand, is the guy who never attends a union meeting. But if by accident he should attend one, he never opens his mouth until after the meeting. He fails to vote in all elections, but he's the first to holler that the wrong man was elected. He will never accept a committee appointment, never help a brother in need. Genuine trade unionists are entirely different from the mere card-carriers. They work eight hours a day at their jobs and spend their evenings working for a better labor movement. It is to such men and women that labor owes much. The movement needs many more such union men and women and it needs fewer card-carriers.



# KEEPING THE FAITH

"I'M SURE glad times have changed," said Doug, as he stood in front of the mirror, surveying the reflection of himself adorned with a wig of white curls after the fashion of George Washington's time.

"So am I," sighed his mother, who had managed to find the wig and who had made the necessary adjustments for it to fit the boy's head. "I couldn't go through this every day."

"Not even if I grew up to be President, Mom?" her son asked.

"You can be President just as well with a good short haircut, no wig," she responded. "How about getting into your suit? I do hope it fits. Call me when you're dressed," she said over her shoulder as she left the room.

On the next block much the same thing was going on. Charlie Webster, the tall, dark boy who was to portray Abraham Lincoln, had put on his dark clothes. He looked at himself in the mirror. The high silk hat made him look even taller, and the plaid shawl around his shoulders amused him as he regarded his reflection critically.

"Marge, come on up and look at me," he called to his sister.

"In a minute, Charlie. I have to finish this problem for homework."

"Don't bother. I'll come down."

Her gasp as he entered the room was ample reward for his efforts in dressing.

"You look wonderful," Marge told him. "But don't start the Gettysburg Address. I haven't time to listen to it at the moment."

"I don't get to say it," Charlie said. "It isn't in my part."

"Please go away and let me finish this math," Marge pleaded.

"Then will you go through my lines with me?" he asked.

"Sure. But let me alone now. I want to finish. Ann is coming over to show me her costume after a while. I'm going to help her, too."

"Say, you should see Doug's outfit," Charlie said. "I'll give him a ring and maybe he'll come over, too. He's even going to wear a wig."

"O.K., Charlie," said Marge. "But please scram now."

Charlie dialed Doug's number. Shortly thereafter the two characters out of history had arranged to hold a semi-rehearsal in costume at Charlie's house, with Ann doing her part and Marge assisting. Marge was not in the play, so she was free to help in the direction of the performers.

An hour later the Webster living room presented an unusual picture. "George Washington" stood by the fireplace, splendid in a satin brocade suit with lace at the throat and wrists. His face was framed by a white wig. Seated on a hassock in front of the fire was "Abraham Lincoln." "Martha Washington," dressed in a full-skirted gown of deep rose satin and her white hair piled on top of her head, presented a charming view as she sat at the piano.

Marge, in a blouse and skirt, struck an entirely modern note as she turned off the television and said:

"We've been entertained enough. Let's get to business. You kids should go through the play again. I'll be everybody else."

"Say, do you suppose President Washington would fit into today's way of living?" asked Doug, smoothing his lace wristlet.

"I expect so," replied Marge. "He believed in peace with justice and honor. He was more than a man of his times."

"Indeed he was!" Ann said. "I figure if he were alive today he would be an outstanding leader of our generation. I'll bet he would even carry a union card. He would have enough foresight to know that in union there is strength."

"Hey, that's my line," said Charlie, putting his stovepipe hat on his head. "I'm the one who led the fight against slavery and for the preservation of

the Union. I mean the Union of the states, of course. And lest you forget, I also held to the belief that working people had the right to protect themselves in their jobs by joining with their fellow wage-earners and to go out on strike if necessary."

"Well, of course, history teaches us that only as we work together do we progress," Ann said. "In our own country, in our own generation we see how futile it would be to feel we could cut ourselves off from our fellow men. Now, in the days we represent," she said, making a curtsy toward the boy dressed as George Washington, "our estate was rather self-sufficient. We and our neighbors grew or made practically everything we needed or used, or we traded something we had for what we wanted. But goodness! Now it's so different. Cities and towns are everywhere. We have our milk delivered, our grocery stores and markets supply our meats and vegetables, bread and cereals. Our sanitation needs are usually a part of city government. Our public schools are full of children and we have thousands of excellent teachers."

Marge interrupted her:

"No more little exclusive private classes only for the favored few!"

"When one thinks," said Ann, "of all the mass-produced things, clothing, shoes, hats, practically everything that used to be made on the family estate, all the printing and publishing business and, of course, all the new inventions not even dreamed of in those old days, we just know working people must join unions to have a voice in what goes on."

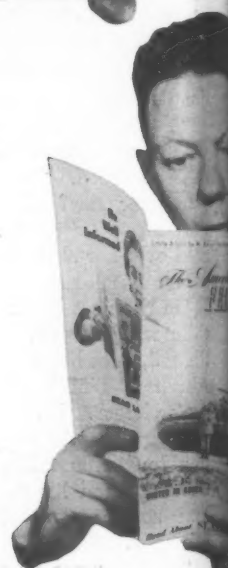
"And right now when our nation has a big defense program to carry forward we must be united to do our best," said Charlie.

"You are absolutely right," said Doug. "We must keep our country strong and brave and free."

"And keep faith with our great men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln," said Marge.



## **They all read the FEDERATIONIST**



**You, too, should read the A. F. of L. magazine,  
which is read by intelligent working people  
in cities and towns throughout the nation**

If you're in the labor movement, the publication which you *must* read regularly is THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor. A subscription is \$2 a year. We suggest that you subscribe today. On 100 subscriptions or more, the price is only \$1.50 each. THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D. C.